1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

by the man in the water, who returns to the canoe. It may be necessary to strike the prey with a second harpoon, but if the first was well thrown the animal is firmly held by the line.

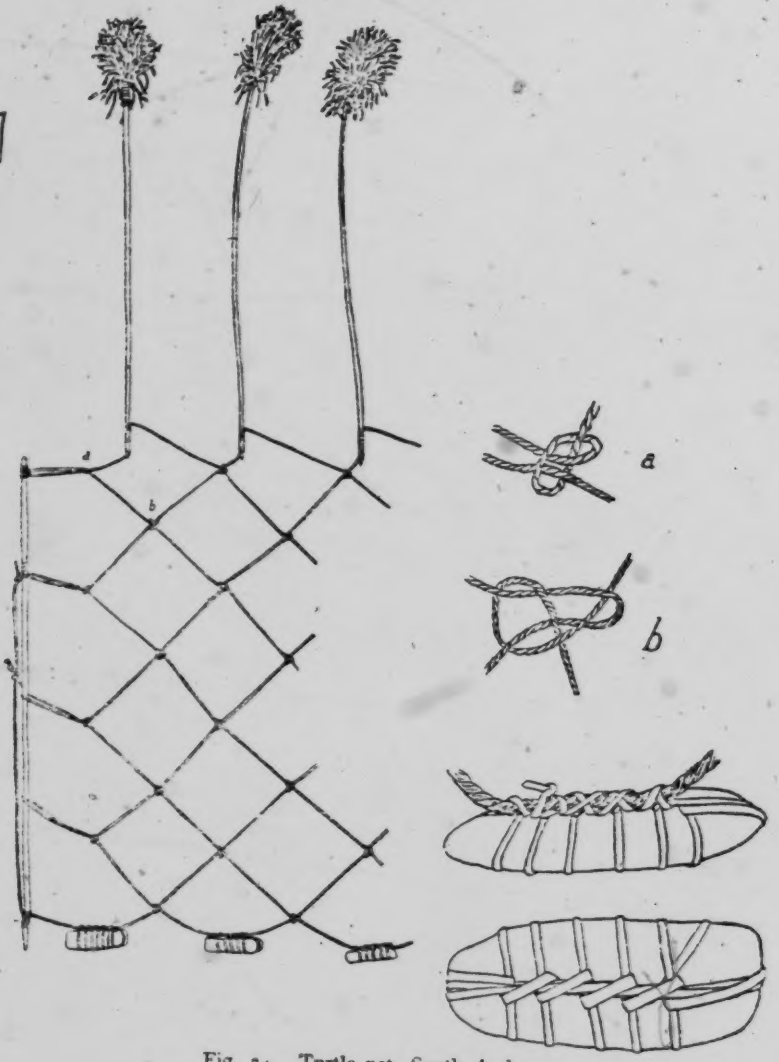

Fig. 24. Turtle net, South Andaman

Harpoons are not used in the Little Andaman. The natives of the Great Andaman say that they themselves have only used them since

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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they were able to obtain iron and that before that time they could only capture turtle and dugong in nets. It would seem therefore that the harpoon has been invented or adopted by the tribes of the Great Andaman Division in comparatively recent times, and was not an element of the primitive Andamanese culture.

The turtle net is no longer used, as the natives prefer the harpoon and have all the iron they need. Such nets were formerly made of rope of *Hibiscus* fibre. A net was about 150 cm. in width and of variable length. One specimen that was made for me had an open mesh of about 25 cm. square, while another had a smaller mesh. The knot used in a net from the South Andaman is the ordinary fisherman's knot shown in Fig. 24 *b*. In a net from the North Andaman the knot used is a slip-knot, one strand being tied with an overhand knot over another which it crosses at right angles as shown in Fig. 25.

Fig. 25. Knot used in making the North Andaman turtle net

Each end of the turtle net is attached to a stake pointed at the lower end. The lower edge of the net is weighted with stones attached as shown in Fig. 24, while to the upper edge are attached a number of floats, each consisting of a long thin stick of *Hibiscus* wood to the upper end of which is attached a tassel of fibre.

The net was placed in shallow water so that the stones rested on the bottom while the tassels at the upper ends of the floats appeared above the surface. As soon as a turtle was entangled in the net the agitation could be observed by those watching who would proceed to the spot to secure their capture.

So far as is known it would seem that nets of this description are not used in the Little Andaman.

The Andamanese make practically no use of spears. At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division sometimes make pig-spears of a length of stout cane or rattan with a head of iron attached. The natives themselves say that such spears have only been made since the occupation of the islands, and it is probable that they were first made in imitation of spears used by Burmese convicts for pig-hunting. They are hardly ever used, the pig-arrow being preferred.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

hexagonal work are used by other races in the Malay Peninsula and in Malaysia generally. The present mats and baskets of the Semang cannot therefore be regarded as original Negrito productions. They have almost certainly been adopted through contact with other cultures.

The same thing would seem to apply to the present basket-work of the Philippine Negritos, of which however we know very little.

Netted bags of string are made by the women of both the Great Andaman and the Little Andaman Divisions, and are used for carrying or storing small objects such as shells, fruit, roots, etc. The string used for these is made from the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* in the Little

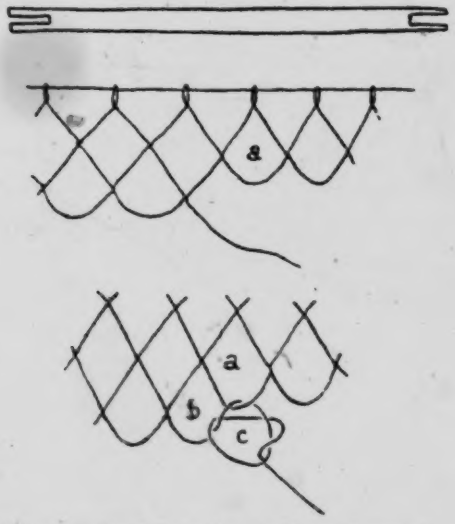

Fig. 37. Diagram showing netting needle, and method of netting

Andaman, and is generally made from the same fibre in the Great Andaman, but in the latter division the fibre of *Hibiscus scandens* is prized for this purpose and is used instead of that of the *Gnetum* when it is available. Small hand fishing nets are made by the women in both divisions from thread of *Gnetum* fibre. In the Great Andaman Division netting is also used for personal ornaments, the thread used for this purpose being generally made from *Anadendron* fibre.

The mode of netting is always the same. Netting needles are used, made from slips of bamboo or cane, and varying in size according to the work for which they are intended. The netting string or thread is wound on to this needle. For the foundation of the net a short

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

286 length of string is taken and the two ends tied together, the loop thus formed being placed over the big toe as the woman sits on the ground.

284 The knot used in netting is that known as the fisherman's knot. in use all over the world. The needle is held in the right hand. 286 is passed from above downwards through the loop marked *a* in the figure, and is drawn through far enough to leave a new loop *b* of the required size. This loop is held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, the uniformity in mesh being apparently obtained largely by the sense of touch. The needle is then passed through the new loop *b* again from above and is drawn out leaving a loop *c*, through which the needle is passed once more, forming the finished knot, which is then drawn taut.

286 When netting is made for personal apparel it is generally ornamented with strips of *Dendrobium* skin worked in with the thread in the course of the netting. Netting for personal ornaments consists of a sort of bag open at both ends. Each end is tied with a string passed through the ultimate loops, and this string serves to tie the band of net round the waist or neck or wrist or knee.

286 Fishing nets are attached to a handle. The handles of the Little 227 Andaman Division and those of the Great Andaman Division are different in shape. The Great Andaman net with its hoop can be folded up compactly for carriage, while that of the Little Andaman cannot.

The nets of rope formerly used in the Great Andaman for catching turtle have been already described.

Domestic Implements and Utensils.

372 The Andamanese are perhaps the only people in the world who 177 have no method of their own of making fire. At the present time they obtain matches from the Settlement of Port Blair, and a few of them have learnt, either from Burmese or from Nicobarese, a method of making fire by the friction of pieces of split bamboo. Formerly, however, they had no knowledge of any method by which fire could be produced. Fires were and still are carefully kept alive in the village, and are carefully carried when travelling. Every hunting party carries its fire with it. The natives are very skilful in selecting wood that will smoulder for a long time without going out and without breaking into flame.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

substances, but from the bark fibres of trees and shrubs, known to them by the names of *al·aba-* (*Melochia velutina*), *pī·lita-* (*Gnetum edule*), and *yō·lba-* (*Anadendrum paniculatum*). The first of these is found growing near the shore, where it seldom attains a height of 20 feet; it is from fibre obtained from the bark of this tree that their cinctures (*bē·tma-bā*), harpoon-lines (*bē·tma-*), and turtle-nets (*yô·to-tē·pinga*) are manufactured. When any of the articles have to be made or replaced, it becomes the duty of some member of the male sex to procure a smooth clean branch—one which is also fairly straight and free from gnarls being preferred—and to remove the bark; the cellular integument is next scraped with a *Cyrena* shell (*ū·ta-*) until the fibres which it encloses are laid bare: these are then placed in the sun, or before a fire, to dry; when ready for use (*i.e.*, when thoroughly dry) the ropemaker ties several of the filaments to his toe and proceeds with his work by winding another strand spirally round them, adding a fresh length from time to time. When special strength or durability is needed, a coating of black wax (*tō·bul-pūl-*) is finally applied. The yarn thus produced is termed *bē·tma-mai·anga-*. When a long piece of this has been made (say 30 yards), a large portion of it is wound round the two cross-sticks forming the *kū·teybo-*.[1] The operator, having then seated himself with legs outstretched, places a stick or cane between the big toes of his feet, and over this bar he passes the *kū·teybo-*, thus enabling him to wind it continuously round the other half-length of the yarn, which, for convenience sake, he has previously placed by his right side, so that it is drawn behind his neck and over his left shoulder as the work proceeds. After the first foot or so of the cord has been thus made, the operator holds or clutches that portion with his toes. It will be understood that in employing the *kū·teybo-* in the above manner, it becomes necessary at frequent intervals to unwind a certain quantity from that implement, in order to enable the work to progress. The cord thus made is called *bē·tma-*, and this it is of which their harpoon-lines and turtle-nets are made. The *bē·tma-bā-* (lit., small *bē·tma-*), mentioned above, is made in the same way, but of course less fibre and a smaller *kū·teybo-* are used.

2. For making hand fishing-nets (*kūd-*) and sleeping-mats (*pār·ɛpa-*[2]), the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (*pī·lita-*) is used; in the preparation and manufacture of these, women exclusively are concerned; the first process is to cut a number of the trailers into lengths which are determined by the distances between the knots and joints: these are held against the

[1] "The cord (used for large nets, &c.) possesses the valuable quality of hardening in the water" (*vide* Mouat, p. 326).

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 65.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

283 thigh, and the cuticle is removed by means of the *Cyrena*
286 shell; the underlying white fibres are left for a week or ten days in the sun until thoroughly dry, when they separate readily, and are easily worked up into fine or coarse twine, as may be required by the manipulator.

283 3. The fibre of the *Anodendron paniculatum* (*yō·lba-*) is
824 chiefly used for making bowstrings, reticules (*châ·panga-*), necklaces, and twine for arrow fastenings; its manufacture is accordingly not restricted to either sex. When the bark has been stripped off, in lengths of 8 to 15 inches, the operator presses the inner portion upon his (or her) thigh, and then rapidly but carefully passes a *Cyrena* shell along the outer surface until the fibres alone remain; these are then, as in the previous cases, dried in the sun, or before a fire; when a sufficient supply of material has been thus obtained, it is made into fine twine or, if not required for immediate use, wrapped in leaves in order that it may be kept fresh. Although apparently free
[262] from any obnoxious properties, this plant, as well as the fibres obtained therefrom, until it is converted into twine or bowstrings, is believed by the Andamanese to render the flesh of a turtle uneatable if placed near it; consequently this meat, when inadvertently so contaminated, is thrown away; further, no one who has been collecting *yō·lba-*, or who has been engaged in preparing the fibre, can (for a period extending to three days) be allowed to cook a turtle, or even to accompany a party engaged
[825] on a turtling expedition! Sharks and other dangerous fish are also credited with having so wholesome a horror or detestation of this plant (and also of *Cyrena* shells!) that the aborigines are in the habit of attaching some *yō·lba-*, or *Cyrena* shells (or both), to their cinctures as a safeguard when about to swim in parts believed to be infested by these creatures.

[531] 4. The yellow skin of the root of a certain orchid, called *râ-*, which is commonly found on trees near the shore, is often seen intertwined with their *yō·lba-* string, in personal ornaments, and occasionally in the decoration of weapons, but where strength is a requisite it is of course not used.

5. Bowstrings of *pī·lita-* and *yō·lba-* are made in the manner described in the manufacture of *al·gba-* rope, but ordinary string is made in the following manner:—a few of the prepared filaments are twisted into a yarn on the thigh with the palm of the hand; when two lengths have been obtained, they are together rolled into string of the desired strength, and beeswax is smeared over it to make assurance doubly sure.

6. Twine, made from the *yō·lba-*, is used in netting the fine chains (*râb-*[1]) and the reticules (*châ·panga-*[2]); for turtle-

[1] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 5, and Appendix B, item 42.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 22.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate C.

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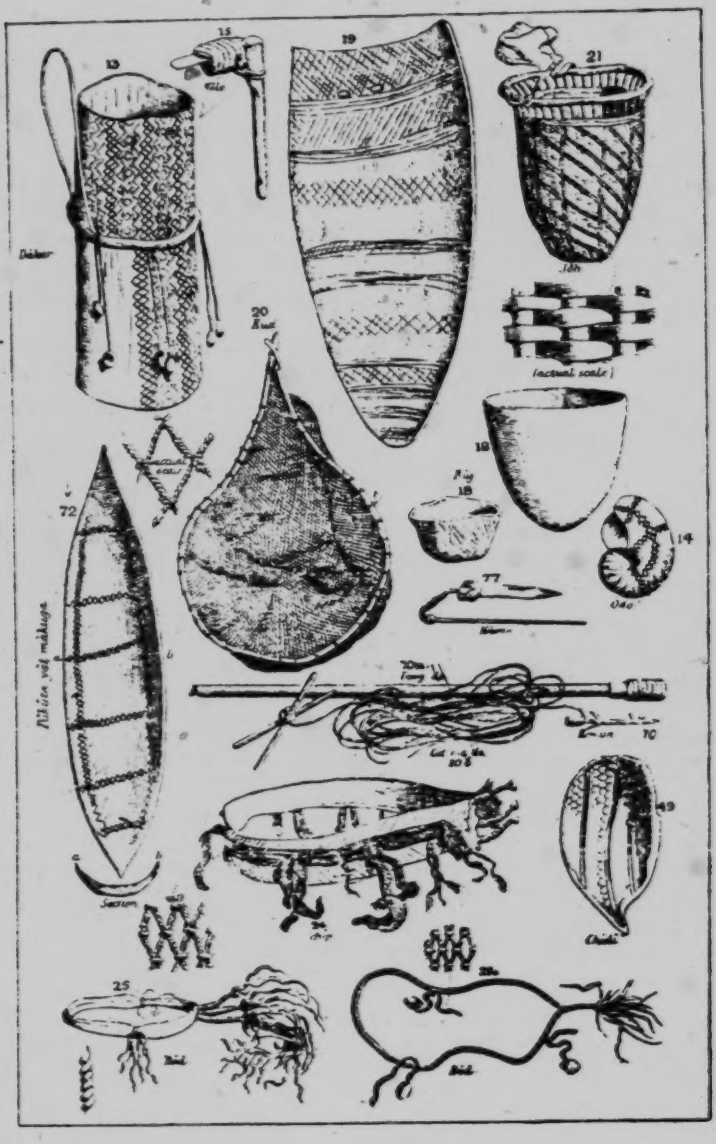

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 178]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 bamboo (male species preferred), often 18 feet or more in length; for the reception of the harpoon a socket is prepared at the small end, which is strengthened by pieces of mangrove wood, over which strips of cane are neatly tied. The harpoon consists of a strong barbed iron head fastened to a short piece of wood to which a long line (*bē·tma-*) is attached. When a turtle or large fish is struck the harpoon detaches itself from the shaft, which floats and is picked up after the capture has been effected.

[NOTE.—A harpooner almost invariably follows up a successful cast by plunging into the water, lest in the act of dragging the line the harpoon should slip out of the wound and his victim should thus escape.]

501 11. *rō·ko-*.[1] Generic name of the various kinds of canoes made in recent years[2] by the aborigines of South Andaman and adjacent parts, where, owing to the facility of obtaining iron tools, large dug-outs, called *gī·lyanga-*, capable of accommodating twenty to forty persons, are constructed in place of the small outrigger canoes (*chā·rigma-*) with which the other tribes have still to content themselves. They are usually made of the *Sterculia villosa* (Andam., *bā·ja-*), and are often ornamentally painted.

[NOTE.—The outrigger is called *tel-*, and is always made of the wood of *mau·-* (one of the *Sterculiaceæ*), which is soft and light.]

11*a*. *wāl·igma-*.[3] Paddle: these are not made by women, nor are they of any prescribed size, this being regulated merely by the fancy of the maker, and the material at his disposal; they are frequently adorned by women with chevrons[4] (*jō·bo-tārtā·nga-*) of *kwob-* (item 60) or *tā·la-ōg-* (item 58).

●286 [284] 12. *yôto-tē·pinga-*. Turtle-net, made by men,[5] of a stout cord (*bē·tna-*), which is prepared from the bark fibre of the *Melochia velutāna* (Andam., *al·aba-*); the meshes vary in size according to the fancy or skill of the maker.[6]

415 322 13. *dā·kar-*.[7] Bucket made by the Great Andaman tribes of the wood used in constructing canoes, *i.e.*, *Sterculia villosa*, with a loop of cane to form the handle; the implement used in hollowing out these vessels is the blade of the adze (*wō·lo-*, item 15), which is detached from its handle and fastened to a straight piece of wood so as to form a sort of chisel.

[NOTE.—The Little Andaman and other *jār·awa-* buckets are made in the same manner, but are much larger and superior in every way; they are, moreover, neatly ornamented round the sides with stripe of cane, evenly laid on and fastened at the rim by plaiting.]

[1] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 69.
[2] *Vide* Part III, "Navigation," paragraph 4, and footnote.
[3] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 70.
[4] *Vide* Part III, "Ornamentation," paragraph 6.
[5] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 60.
[6] *Vide* Part III, "String," paragraph 6.
[7] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 14.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

convex side is uppermost; the pointed end is stuck in the ground, and kept in position with one foot; a stone is then placed under the board to enable the performer to make more noise when keeping time, which he does by thumping or kicking the board with the heel of the other foot.

20. *kūd-*.[1] Hand fishing-net constructed from the prepared fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*) by women and girls, who also by its means catch large quantities of fish and prawns, both in streams and among rocks along the coast at low tide. It is about the size of an ordinary butterfly-net; the frame is made of a length of a creeper known to them as *ôrtatāt-*, the ends being bound together to form a handle.

21. *jōb-*.[2] Baskets used by all the Great Andaman tribes for carrying food and various other articles: they are generally made by women.[3]

[NOTE.—The baskets made by the *.yērewa-* or North Andaman tribes, differ from those found among the *.bōjig* tribes in having a wider base and a smaller mouth.[4]]

21*a*. The *jārawa-*[5] baskets differ from those in use among the Great Andaman tribes in having no firm base.

22. *chāpanga-*.[6] Netted reticules made and used by women for carrying small objects: the string used for this purpose is generally prepared from the fibre of the *Anadendrum paniculatum* (Andam., *yōlba-*, item 64), but as this is not always obtainable the less-valued fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*) is sometimes employed as a substitute.

23. *pārepa-*.[7] Sleeping mat made by women of strips of a species of *Calamus* fastened securely in the ordinary manner with string made from the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*, item 65). When in use the rolled-up portion of these mats—which are generally 15 to 20 feet long—serves as a pillow.

23*a*. The *jārawa-*[8] sleeping mats hitherto found have always been of short lengths, but as wooden pillows similar to those in use among the Nicobarese have been found in their huts, it is probable that the specimens obtained represent full sized mats.

24. *chīp-*.[9] Sling or band made by women from the bark of

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 18.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 17.
[3] *Vide* Part III, "Basket-work," paragraphs 2 and 3.
[4] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14*a*.
[6] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 33.
[7] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15.
[8] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15*a*.
[9] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 25.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

substituted. These three substances are melted and stirred over a fire until of a proper consistency; the pigment is then poured into small pots or large shallow shells, where on cooling it soon hardens. When required for use the pot or shell is placed on the fire and the melting wax applied according to fancy. The string fastenings of fish and pig arrows (items 4, 5, and 6) the turtle harpoon (item 10), and pig spear (item 9), are protected with a coating of this wax, and it is applied ornamentally to the food trays (item 72), nautilus shells (item 14), and the outside of buckets (item 13); it is also used for closing cracks in buckets, and in canoes if not too large.

63. *chū·lnga-*. olive-coloured clay found in small springs in the jungles: in its liquid form it is applied medicinally after the manner of *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-* (*vide* footnote [5], p. 184).

64. *yō·lba-*. (*Anodendron paniculatum*), the fibre of which is much valued on account of its excellence; string made from it is used for bowstrings and arrow fastenings, for netting the *châ·panga-* (item 22), and *rāb-* (item 42), for making their various necklaces and other personal ornaments, and also for the fastenings of knives and turtle harpoons.

65. *pī·lita-* (*Gnetum edule*), from the fibre of which string is prepared and used almost exclusively by women, chiefly for the manufacture of the *kūd-* (item 20), and *pār·epa-* (item 23); it is not sufficiently strong to serve as arrow fastenings, though on an emergency it is sometimes used for this purpose.

66. *al·aba-* (*Melochia velutina*). From fibre obtained from this tree rope is made for turtle-lines (*bē·tmo-*), nets, and cables, the preparation and manufacture of which devolve on men; the bark of this tree also furnishes the material of which the *chīp* (item 24) or baby-slings are made.

67. *pô·tòkla-*.[1] Netting-needles, made in two sizes of bamboo and used in making nets.

[NOTE.—The turtle-net (item 12) is not made with netting-needles, but with two sticks called *kū·tegbo-*.[2]]

68. *pô-chô-*. Bamboo knives, which are shaped into form while green and then dried and charred over a fire to render them sharp and fit for use; formerly they were employed for cutting meat and other food.[3]

69. *wai-chô-* and *pór-chô-*. Two varieties of cane knives, but similar to item 68.

70. *tō·ug-*.[4] Torch, made by women, of resin wrapped in a large leaf (*Crinum lorifolium*); it is used when fishing, travelling, or

[1] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 12.
[2] These are made of a light hard wood known as *bē·rewil-*.
[3] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 10.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 66.

291

291 NORMAL GARB--nude and covered parts of body; services of clothing (e.g., protection, vanity, modesty); standard costume; age and sex differences; seasonal variations; styles and fashions; description of individual garments; means of attachment and suspension (e.g., belt); etc. See also:

Cyclical trends in fashions 178
Sumptuary laws 434
Sexual modesty 834
Swaddling and infant attire 854

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE I

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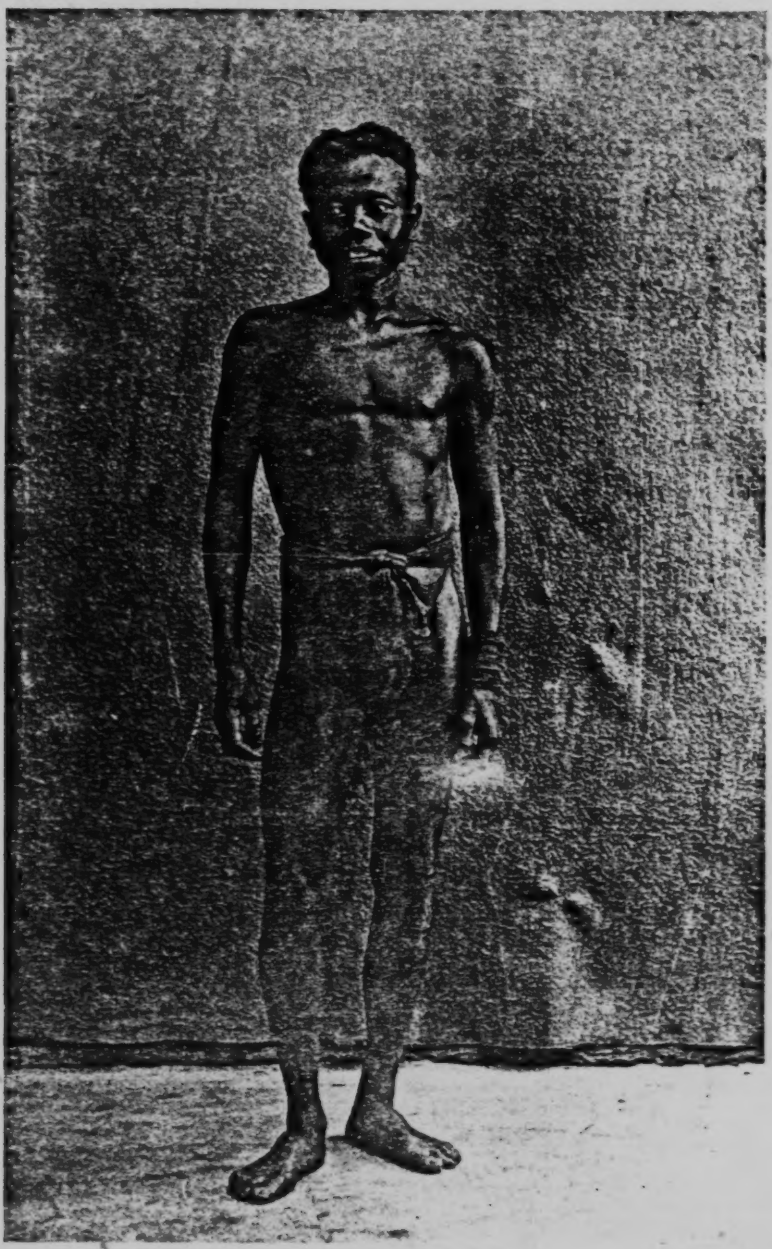

A young man of the North Andaman

[P.26B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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PLATE II

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A young married woman

[p. 26B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE IV

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A married woman of the Great Andaman wearing belts of *Pandanus* leaf and ornaments of *Dentalium* shell

[p. 28 B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE V

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A man of the ***Akar-Bale*** tribe with South Andaman bow and arrows, wearing belt and necklace of netting and ***Dentalium*** shell. (Height 1494 mm., 4 feet 9 inches)

[Facing p. 30]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE IX

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Woman decorated with *odu* clay

[p. 120A]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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PLATE X

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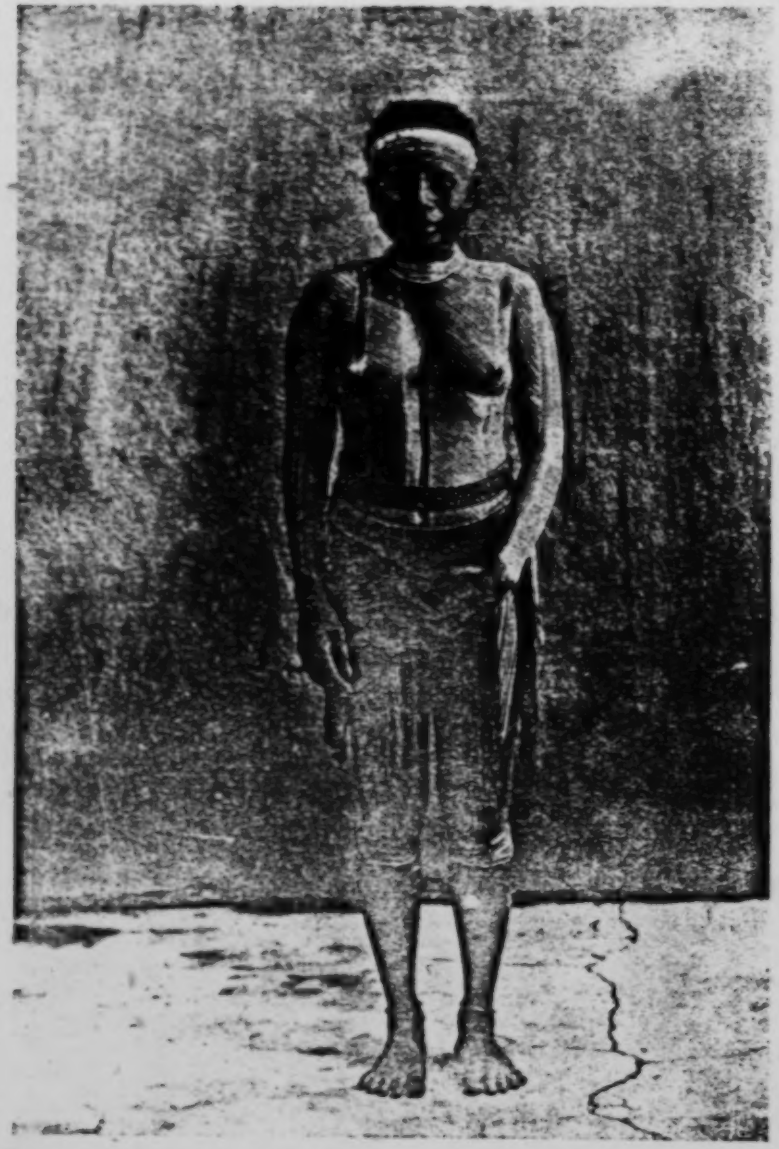

Woman decorated with *odu* clay

[p. 120 B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE XII

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A young man decorated with white clay in readiness for a dance [p. 124A]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

301 a position where it is not likely to get lost when running through the jungle, and where it is immediately accessible when wanted. The necklet also serves as a means of carrying bees'-wax, which is in constant use amongst the natives, a small ball of the wax being attached to one of the ends of the string of which the necklet is made.

291 As a rule, in everyday life, the men wear only a belt, or a belt and necklace. Those natives who visit the Settlement of 177 Port Blair have been required by the European officers to wear 834 a strip of cloth over the genitals. It has now become the rule to wear such a loin cloth whenever they are in the neighbourhood of a European. This, however, is a modern custom, and in former times the men went freely with no covering whatever, as do the inhabitants of the Little Andaman at the present time. As showing the extent to which the natives have been influenced in this matter by outside opinion, it may be mentioned that at the present day many of the younger men, particularly those who have been brought up at Port Blair, regard it as very immodest to be seen without some covering over the genitals.

301 On ceremonial occasions, such as the dance at the end of mourning, or a big dance-meeting, the men put on a number of ornaments. A common costume on such occasions consists of a belt, necklace, bracelets, and garters of netting and *Dentalium* shell. A belt and necklace of this kind are to be seen in Plate V, and garters are worn by the woman in Plate IX. An alternative costume for men consists of a set of ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf (belt, chaplet, bracelets and garters), decorated with *Dentalium* and other shells. Garters of this kind are shown in Plate XII.

301 Other objects are worn by the natives for magical purposes. 755 Chief amongst these are the strings made of human bones which 751 are worn to prevent and cure sickness. The bones are attached to a length of rope, and this is generally decorated with shells or with *Dendrobium* skin. These strings of bones are worn most commonly as chaplets, necklaces or belts, but they may also be made into garters and bracelets. The bones of animals, such as pig, turtle, dugong, etc., are treated in exactly the same way

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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PLATE XIV

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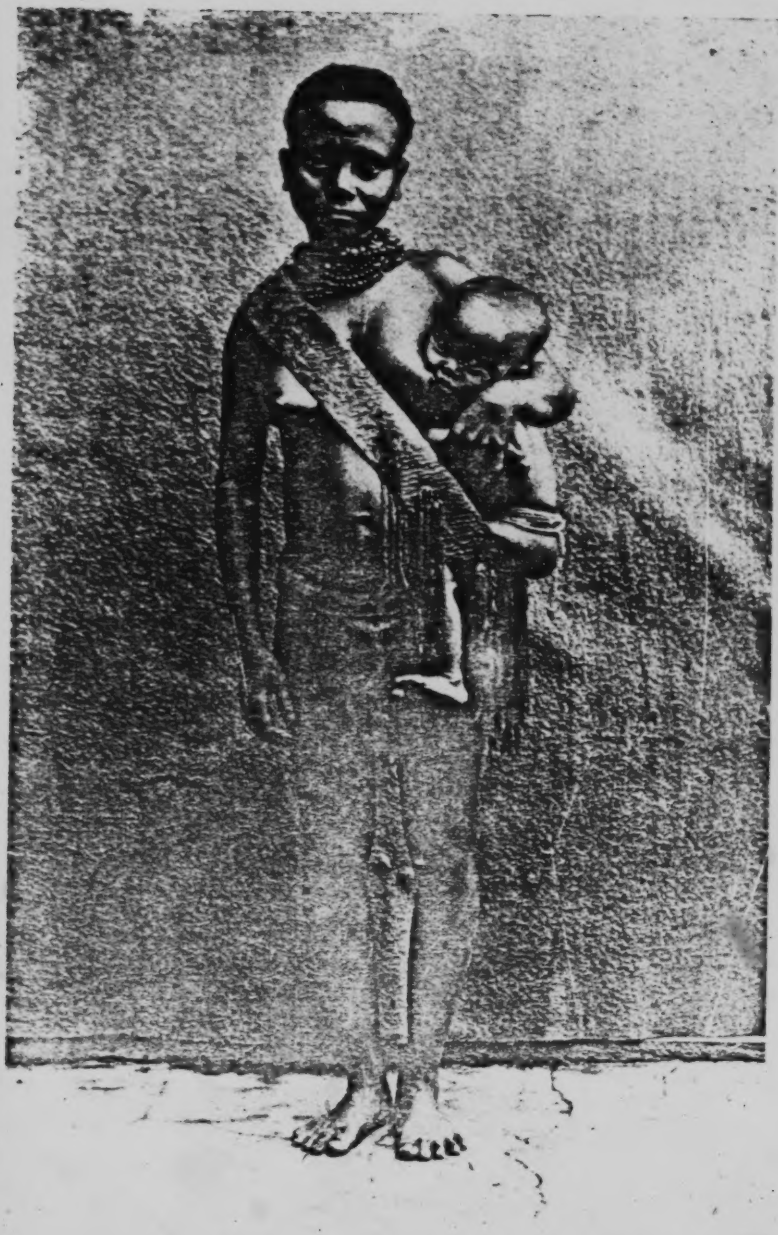

A woman with her child

[p. 126A]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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PLATE XV

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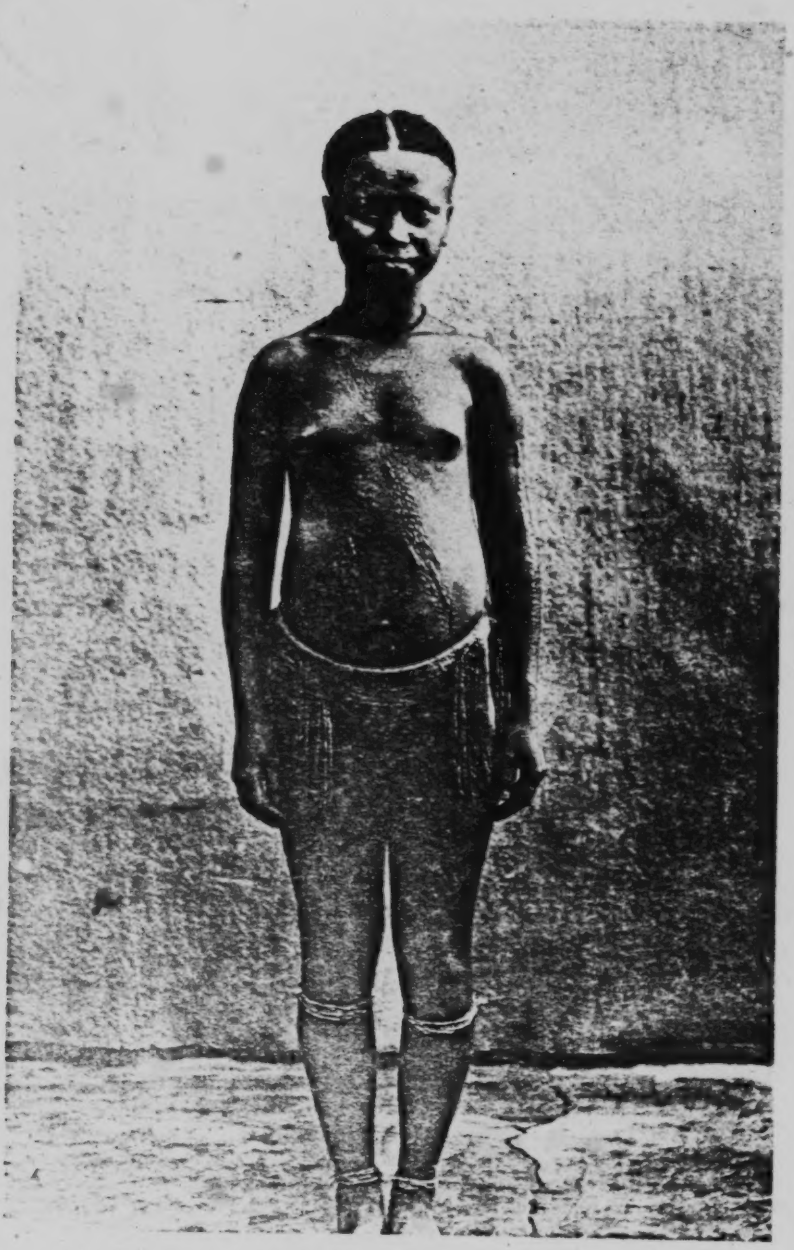

A young married woman, showing pattern scarified on body and arms

[p. 126B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

as human bones, and ornaments made of them are commonly worn.

There are a number of other ornaments that are commonly worn, not only on ceremonial occasions, which, unlike the strings of human bones, do not obviously have a magical purpose. Such are necklaces made of various kinds of shells, and of mangrove seeds. At the present time the natives obtain beads from Port Blair and make ornaments of these.

The ordinary costume of the women is different from that of the men. Every woman and girl wears at least one belt of *Pandanus* leaf. There is one kind of belt that is always worn by married women and which may not be worn by unmarried girls. There is another kind of belt that may only be worn by unmarried girls. The women of the Southern tribes wear a bundle of leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* laid one over another suspended from the front of the belt so as to cover the pudenda. In the Northern tribes it was formerly the custom for the women to wear a similar apron of the leaves of a plant called *ɛainyo*, and over this they also wore a tassel of shredded palm-leaf stem (*koro*). Within recent years the Northern tribes have given up their own custom in this matter and have adopted the custom of the Southern tribes.

Women often wear round the neck a piece of string similar to that worn by the men, but as they do not carry knives it does not serve the same purpose. It is more usual for a woman to wear a necklace of some sort. Nowadays they are rather fond of necklaces of beads which they obtain from the Settlement at Port Blair. In former times different kinds of shells were used, such as the *Dentalium octogonum*.

With the exception that men wear the belt of rope, and women wear the belt of *Pandanus* leaf and the apron of leaves, there is no difference between the ornaments worn by men and by women. On the occasion of a dance or other ceremony a woman may wear any of the objects described as being worn by men on such occasions. They also wear in the same way strings of human or animal bones.

One object which would seem to have a purely utilitarian purpose is the sling used for carrying children (called in *Aka-*

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netted bags and fishing nets. In the Little Andaman it is used for binding their arrows, as well as for netting. 824 283

The most valuable fibre of the Great Andaman tribes is that of the *Anadendron paniculatum*, which is used for string and thread and for bow-strings. Until recent times the method of preparing the fibre was not known to the natives of the Little Andaman, but they have now learnt it from the natives of the Great Andaman with whom they have been brought in contact, and the use of the fibre for string and thread is coming in amongst them.

The fibre is not easy to prepare. Long thin branches of the creeper are cut, which must be neither too young nor too old. To obtain these it is often necessary to climb up into high trees, for the *Anadendron* is a climbing plant. The creeper is cut into lengths of from 20 to 40 cm. The bark (inner and outer layers) is peeled off these in strips of from 7 to 10 mm. in width. A strip of the bark is taken and placed on the thigh, inner surface downwards, and is scraped with a *Cyrena* shell until the outer bark is entirely removed and the fibres remain clean and separate. These are dried in the sun or over a fire and, if not needed for immediate use, are stored for future occasion. The fibre is fine and of a light greyish brown colour. In its qualities it somewhat resembles ramie fibre. It is extremely strong.

There are a number of other trees and plants that are known by the natives to afford fibre, but they are not used, or if they are, it is extremely rarely.

The Andaman jungles have a number of different species of *Calamus*, and the canes or rattans of these are put to all sorts of uses, such as the making of baskets, the lashings and furnishings of canoes, and in building huts. In the Little Andaman one species of cane is used to provide the fibre for women's belts. The outer skin is removed and the remainder of the cane is divided into fine strips or threads. A bundle of these tied together constitutes the belt worn by the women of the Little Andaman. The outer sheath of the leaf-stem of the *Calamus tigrinus* is used by the natives of the Great Andaman Division for making mats. Lengths of the leaf-stem are cut and the outer skin is removed in strips of about 3 to 5 mm. in width. The still adhering pith is removed with a *Cyrena* shell, and the strips are dried in the sun and then made into mats. 824 285 [301] [291]

The leaf-stem of a species of palm is cut while green and is then shredded into long strips. The fibre thus obtained really consists of the leaflets of the young unopened leaves of the palm. It is used in the 824 291

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824 Little Andaman to make the tassel that women wear over the pudenda.
291 The women of the North Andaman formerly wore a tassel of this fibre, but have now discontinued the custom, since their contact with the South Andaman. In the Great Andaman tribes this material has
824 important ceremonial uses. It is called *kəro* in Aka-Jeru and *ara* in Aka-Bea, and has been frequently mentioned in this volume. A tassel of the fibre is suspended near the grave of a dead person and at the entrance of the village at which the death took place. In the North Andaman a suspended cane hung with a fringe of the fibre is erected for the peace-making ceremony. (See Plate XIX.)

Two plants that were not identified are used in the North Andaman for making baskets. The methods of preparing these will be described later.

824 The natives of the Great Andaman Division make use of the leaves
291 of the *Pandanus Andamanensium* for making belts for women and ornaments that are worn on ceremonial occasions. These leaves do not seem to be used in the Little Andaman.

824 The pods of one or more species of *Dendrobium* are collected by
531 the natives of both Great Andaman and Little Andaman. They are roasted in the fire, until the outer skin turns a bright yellow, and this is torn off in strips and used for ornamenting nets, baskets, rope, etc.

824 The above description includes all the more important vegetable substances used by the Andamanese for their rope, string, netting, and basket-work. There are many other substances that they might use if they wished, of the properties of which they are fully aware. Their knowledge of the trees and plants of the forests and of the peculiar properties of each is very extensive. They themselves say that they use only those that best serve their purposes.

283 The Andamanese make rope and string or thread, but in all cases it is only two-ply. Rope is made by men only, and is used for the lines of turtle harpoons, and was formerly used for turtle nets. The ropes made from *Hibiscus* fibre are very strong and durable, being quite as good as the best hempen ropes of the same diameter. In rope-making the *Hibiscus* or other fibre (*Sterculia* or *Grewia*) is taken and twisted into a long strand, either with the fingers, or on the thigh by rolling beneath the palm of the hand, short lengths of fibre being added until a single twisted strand of sufficient length and uniform thickness is produced. The middle of this strand is passed over a piece of wood held by the toes, one half of it being wound on to a reel (*kutobi* in Aka-Jeru) made by tying together crossways two pieces of cane or wood

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412 Bamboo tongs are made by bending double a piece split from a bamboo, and cutting the ends to the required shape. They are used for lifting from the fire anything too hot to be taken in the hand and are chiefly of service in cooking.

Digging sticks are made from various kinds of wood, being simply pointed at one or both ends. These sticks are not as a rule preserved, but made as required with an adze and thrown away after use. They are used for digging up edible roots.

222 227 Hooks for picking fruit, such as the *Artocarpus*, are made by attaching a small piece of wood to the end of a bamboo. Hooks for catching crabs are made from the wood of the *Rhizophora* by taking advantage of the natural form where a small branch joins a larger one.

352 824 The fan-shaped leaf of a *Licuala* palm is made use of in many ways. The edges of the leaflets are sewn together with fine strips of cane, and the sewn leaf is then used either as a sunshade or umbrella for protection from sunshine or rain, as a sleeping mat if the proper article be lacking, as a screen to make the roof or sides of a hut more wind or rain proof, as a wrapper for making objects of all sorts into bundles, and as a winding sheet for a corpse.

373 Torches are made from resin, which is broken into small pieces and wrapped up in leaves of a species of *Crinum* (? *lorifolium*), a few pieces of smouldering charcoal being added before it is tied up. The torch is then parcelled by marling with a strip of cane or a length of some tough creeper. These resin torches are used in turtle-hunting and fishing expeditions on dark nights.

Other torches are made of fragments of rotten *Dipterocarpus* wood. They are used only in the village.

PERSONAL ORNAMENT; GREAT ANDAMAN.

●291 At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division obtain from the Settlement of Port Blair cloth which both men and women wear round the loins. They also obtain beads from which they make necklaces.

The following is a list of the various personal ornaments made by the natives of the Great Andaman Division, and worn by them.

Rope girdle. Every man wears some sort of girdle round his waist, and this was formerly the only object that was constantly worn by men. The girdle may consist of a length of rope of *Hibiscus* fibre or a length of ornamental cord made by wrapping the yellow skin of

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the *Dendrobium* over two strands of *Hibiscus* fibre and then twisting these into a two-ply cord. 291 •

Necklaces and garters of string. Both men and women are often to be seen with a simple piece of string, usually of *Anadendron* fibre, tied round the neck or around the leg just below the knee. 301

Ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf. Every married woman always wears a belt of *Pandanus* leaf which she is never without for even a moment. When the belt she is wearing needs renewing she puts the new one on before taking the other off. To make such a belt two leaves of the *Pandanus Andamanensium* are taken and cut to a sufficient length (about 20 cm.). The thorns at the edge of the leaf are removed by cutting off a strip of about 3 mm. wide from the edge, leaving a strip of leaf about 4 cm. broad. The two leaves are placed one on the other and are wound spirally round in three turns so as to give a belt of six thicknesses of leaf, the upper surface of the leaf being on the outside of the belt. The leaves are secured together by tying with thread at the back where the two ends just overlap. At the point where the leaves are tied one or two bundles of strips of *Pandanus* leaf are attached with thread. The bundle is made of a number of strips of leaf about 90 cm. long and 2·5 cm. broad which are chewed in the mouth to make them soft and then placed together and served over with thread for about 12 cm. in the middle. Belts of this kind are generally worn by married women, but precisely similar belts are worn by men on certain ceremonial occasions. They are called *toto t'er-bua* in Aka-Jeru. 291

A very similar belt is made in exactly the same way save that the tassel of leaves at the back consists of narrow strips of *Pandanus* leaf instead of broad strips. This kind of belt is worn by women only. Examples may be seen in Plate IV (the lower belt of the two) and in Plate XVIII. It is called *toto t'er-nyarab* in Aka-Jeru.

A belt is made in much the same way out of *Pandanus* leaves split in half down the midrib, giving strips of about 2·5 cm. broad. Such belts have only a scanty tassel of thin strips of leaf at the back. They are worn by girls and women only. They are called *kudu* in Aka-Jeru.

Yet another variety of belt is made of whole leaves in exactly the same way as the *toto t'er-bua* but has no tassel at the back. An example may be seen in Plate IV (the upper belt). It is worn by women.

Girdles are made of strips of *Pandanus* leaf of about 1·25 cm. broad without any tassel, but with strings of *Dentalium* shell attached at various points. A girdle of this kind is shown in Plate XV.

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291 Girdles are also made by cutting a number of strips of leaf and softening them by chewing them in the mouth. These strips are laid together and either served over or marled with thread so as to make a girdle of round section. A tassel of leaves similar to that of the *toto t'er-bua* is attached to the back, and very frequently strings of *Dentalium* shell are attached at various points. Such a girdle may be worn by either men or women. It is called *toto t'er-ŋau* in Aka-Jeru.

Yet another kind of girdle is made by splitting *Pandanus* leaves into thin strips and making them into a kind of wrapped cord, one strip being wrapped spirally round one or more others by the same technique as that used in making bow-strings. A number of coils of strands made in this way are tied together with thread at various points and a tassel similar to that of the *toto t'er-bua* is added at the back. Such girdles are usually improved by the addition of a few pendent strings of *Dentalium* shell. They may be worn by either men or women. Their name in Aka-Jeru is *toto t'er-moi*.

301 Ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf to be worn either round the leg just below the knee or round the wrist are made in exactly the same way as the belt called *toto t'er-bua*, each having a tassel of *Pandanus* leaf strips attached. Such garters and bracelets are worn at a dance by men.

Other ornaments for wearing round the wrist or knee when dancing are made by the same method as the girdle called *toto t'er-ŋau*, each having a tassel of strips of leaf.

Similar dancing ornaments are made by plaiting strips of leaf into a three-plait cord of the right length, a tassel of loose leaf strips being left at each end. These are tied round the wrist or knee.

Ornaments for the knee or wrist, such as those shown on the legs of the man in Plate XII, are made by winding spirally a narrow strip of leaf and sewing it. A number of pendent strings of *Dentalium* shell are attached round it, and often strings are attached at the end of which small shells hang suspended which rattle against one another as the wearer walks or dances.

Chaplets or headdresses worn by men when dancing, and occasionally by women, are made of fairly broad strips of leaf in the same way as the *toto t'er-bua*. Such a chaplet may have a tassel of narrow strips of *Pandanus* leaf at the back to which are attached shells that rattle as the wearer moves, or it may have pendent strings of *Dentalium* shells round the hinder half of its circumference.

In making ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf such as the *toto t'er-bua* the upper surface of the strip of leaf is usually ornamented with a design

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scratched on it with a pointed piece of wood. The design usually covers not only the portion of leaf that is visible when the belt or other object is finished, but also that portion which is not visible, being underneath. Many ornaments of this kind are further decorated when finished with the composition used for covering the bindings of arrows, which is applied with a pointed stick in simple geometrical patterns. The woman shown in Plate x is wearing two belts that have been ornamented with composition in this way.

Woman's leaf apron. In the South Andaman the women wear a sort of small apron consisting of a number of leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* laid one over the other, the stalk ends of the leaves being tucked in between the layers of a belt of *Pandanus* leaf. The leaves thus hang suspended so as to cover, somewhat inadequately, the pudenda. The natives say that the leaves of the *Mimusops* are chosen because they remain green longer than those of any other species. As soon as the leaves fade and turn yellow they are renewed. The appearance of the leaf apron may be seen in Plates IV and XV.

The women of the North Andaman have within recent years adopted the fashion of those of the South Andaman in this matter, but formerly they made a similar use of a different kind of leaf from a plant called *čainyo* in Aka-Jeru, and over the top of the leaves they wore a tassel of the fibre called *ḳoro*.

Ornaments of netting and *Dentalium* shells. Bands of netting (in shape of a cylinder or bag open at both ends) are made of suitable size to tie round the waist, the neck, the leg below the knee or the wrist. Such netting is generally ornamented as it is being made with strips of *Dendrobium* skin worked in the net. Along the lower edge of the band of netting are attached a number of threads each having *Dentalium* shells strung on to it like beads. Ornaments of this kind are shown in Plates V and IX. They are worn by both men and women, but usually only on the occasion of a dance or some other ceremony.

Ornaments of bone, etc. These are made with human bones, with the bones of such animals as pig, turtle, dugong, *Paradoxurus*, monitor lizard, or with pieces of wood or cane, or of coral, of suitable shape. A length of cord, of the fibre of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* or of the *Ficus laccifera*, is taken, and the bones are attached to it by thread. As a rule, strips of *Dendrobium* skin are worked in, being laid on the bone and bound over with the thread.

Ornaments of shell. Various kinds of shells are perforated and attached to string and are worn round the neck, the head, the knee, or

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PERSONAL ORNAMENT; LITTLE ANDAMAN.

The personal ornaments of the Little Andaman and of the Jarawa are different from those of the Great Andaman Division, and therefore need to be described separately. 301 291

Ornaments of bark. Strips of bark (? *Celtis cinnamonea*) are worn by the men round the waist and round the arm.

Ornamental cord. These are the ornaments most frequently met with both in the Little Andaman and amongst the Jarawa. The basis is a strip of cane, varying in breadth in different examples. On one side of this are laid strips of the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium*, varying in number according to the breadth of the cane, and the whole is served over or bound with thread. The technique in shown in Fig. 41, which represents diagrammatically the method adopted when there are two strips of *Dendrobium* skin. Such ornamental cord is made in pieces of considerable length. Often tassels of thread (of *Ficus hispida* fibre) are atached to it at intervals. The cord is worn wound round the waist, the neck, or the arm. Both men and women wear it.

Womans girdle. In the Little Andaman this is made of a number of fine strips of cane tied together with thread. At the front is attached

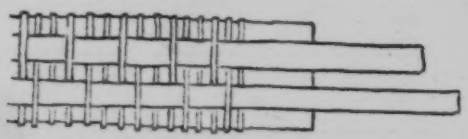

Fig. 41. Diagram showing method of making ornamental cord, Little Andaman

a tassel of fibre made from young unopened palm-leaves (the fibre called *kgro* in Aka-Jeru).

Woman's shoulder strap. The women of the Little Andaman wear a strip of bark over the shoulders, crossing over the chest and passing beneath the breasts.

The above brief description of the ornaments of the Andamanese is perhaps sufficient for the purpose of this appendix, which is to determine as far as possible the elements of a primitive Negrito culture. Any complete account of the subject would need a large number of figures and a discussion of many comparatively unimportant details. The first point of importance to be noted is that the personal ornaments of the Little Andaman Division differ markedly from those of the Great Andaman Division. One difference is that the *Pandanus* leaf, which is used so much and in so many ways in the Great Andaman, 301 171

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PLATE III.

ANDAMANESE MAN AND WOMAN, SHOWING PROFILES.

ANDAMANESE CHIEF, WITH BOW AND ARROWS.

[facing p. 10]

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PLATE VI.

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GREAT ANDAMAN TYPES AT PORT BLAIR HOME.

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CHANG-TONGA (SECOND-CLASS LEAN-TO) IN SOUTH ANDAMAN: FRIENDS WEEPING TOGETHER AFTER LONG SEPARATION; ATTITUDE IN SLEEP, ETC.

[facing p. 78]

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arises from no want of consideration for the weaker vessel, but simply because, if unnecessarily encumbered, the men would be unable to shoot or pursue any animal which might cross their path.

7. Such training as the children receive is undertaken by their parents or guardians; in the case of boys it consists merely in providing them with miniature weapons suitable to their age, and instructing them in their use: as they advance in years they accompany the men in their hunting and fishing expeditions, and, being by nature intelligent and emulous, they speedily acquire sufficient skill to enable them to afford material assistance to their elders.

8. The girls, similarly, are taught by their mothers, or other female guardians, how to fulfil the various duties which are regarded as essentially pertaining to their sex, and which I have described in the foregoing.

9. It seems hardly necessary to add that the unnatural custom of infanticide is unknown to the Andamanese,[1] and though the mortality among infants is excessive,[2] it is traceable to no want of affection, but to the injudicious treatment and lavish attentions bestowed upon the little ones by their ignorant though well-intentioned elders.[3]

10. For the better security of their babies, when travelling, women are in the habit of hanging round their necks a string the ends of which have been previously fastened to the infant's wrists; the child being then placed in a *chīp-*,[4] cannot by any accident meet with a serious fall.

Attire.—1. Madame de Staël speaks of certain children being "*vêtu du climât:*" the same expressive remark may be applied to the Andamanese, for no clothing, as we understand the word, is worn by either sex; there are, however, certain so-called ornamental circlets, garters, bracelets, cinctures, and necklaces of bones,[5] wood, or shell, which are its substitute[6] and serve to

[1] The birth of a girl is usually as gratifying to the parents as that of a boy.

[2] *Vide ante* "Reproduction," paragraph 4.

[3] Dr. Day has correctly stated that "men and women seem equally fond of carrying the babies about; all pet them; when they cry for anything, they give it; and over-kindness early consigns the little one to the grave."

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 24.

[5] As far as we at present know, the *jārawa-* do not wear necklaces of bone, or the skulls of their deceased relatives. The males of this tribe wear round their heads, waists, knees, and arms, fringes of string attached to a cord or cane, which are called by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, *bē·ria-* (*vide* Plate IX, figs. 13, 13*a*, 13*b*).

[6] The relatives of a deceased person will commonly wear such of the ornaments as are in good condition, "in memoriam;" this is not, however, a distinguishing peculiarity, or one confined to savages.

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PLATE VIII.

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ANDAMANESE EQUIPPED FOR JOURNEY.

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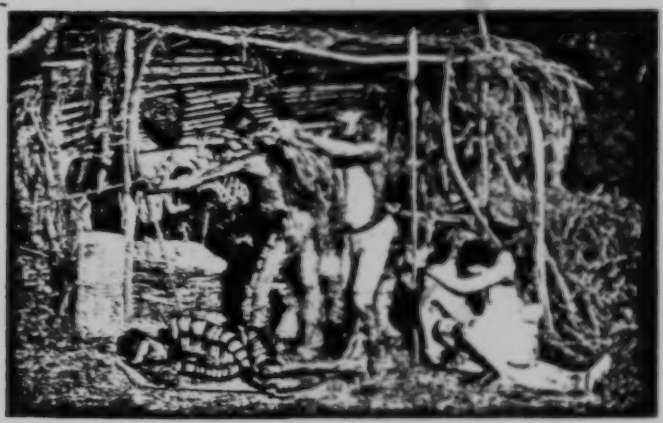

ANDAMANESE SHOOTING, DANCING, SLEEPING, AND GREETING.

[facing p. 110]

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291 remove in some measure the impression that they are naked ;[1] these appendages are not worn as symbols of rank or (if we except the *rō'gun-*) of status, and their manufacture devolves always upon the females of the community.

2. When fully attired[2] the men are seen with peculiar shredded bunches of *Pandanus* leaves attached to their knees and wrists (termed *tā-chō'nga-* and *tō'go-chō'nga-*), and a folded Pandanus leaf round their heads (called *ij'i-gō'nga-*[3]), which, as well as the belt (*bōd-*[4]), is common to both sexes; if, however, they (*i.e.* the men) were denuded of one and all, they would be in no way distressed, and in point of fact, often, as while hunting, when perfect freedom of action is needed, they strip themselves of all except the *bōd-*, or other still lighter cincture, in which are inserted any portable objects, such as arrows and knives, that might be required at a moment's notice during the chase.

3. It is otherwise with women, who never[5] appear without an *ō'bunga-*,[6] or small apron of leaves, which is kept in position by the lowest *bōd-*; while men are usually content with one *bōd-* women almost invariably wear four or five, and have been seen with as many as eight round their waists: in addition to the *ō'bunga-* and *bōd-*s married women[7] wear the *rō'gun-*.

291 834 4. It seems probable that Colonel Colebrooke's remarks on the want of decency shown by the Andamanese women referred to the *yē'rewa-*,[8] or to the tribe we now know as *jâr'awa-*[9] for they alone answer to his description in going about perfectly nude: all my experience tends to prove that the females of the tribes of South Andaman are strikingly modest; indeed so particular are they

[1] As has been remarked by Peschel of other black-skinned races, their "dark colour almost removes the impression of nudity."

[462] [2] All ornaments are made by women, whether for themselves or their relatives. Sometimes at a "*jeg-*" (*vide* Games and Amusements) females exchange their girdles (*bōd-s*) and necklaces as keepsakes.

[3] They wear no head covering, but carry a large leaf screen (*kā'pa-jā'tnga-*) as a protection against sun and rain.

[4] For a complete list of personal ornaments, *vide* Appendix B, items 25 to 43.

[5] "Nudity prevails among both sexes of the Australians, the Andaman Islanders, sundry tribes on the White Nile, the Red Negroes of the Soudan, and the Bushmen, all of which tribes have as yet no sense of shame" (Peschel, p. 173).

[6] A description of these cinctures, aprons, &c., will be found at Appendix B, items 25 to 43.

[843] [7] During pregnancy loose *bōd-s* (*bōd-lâr-gō'rob-*) are worn by women in lieu of the ordinary kind, which are tight fitting; the *rō'gun-* is also discarded when it becomes inconvenient: after the birth of the child both these cinctures are resumed, the former being fastened as tightly as possible for several days.

[8] *Vide* Appendix B, item 79 and footnote.

[9] The *jâr'awa-* women have hitherto been seen with only armlets and cinctures of string, to which a few short fibres were attached, obviously only for ornamental purposes.

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in this respect, that they will not remove or replace their *ō-bunga-*[1] in the presence of any person, even though of their own sex.[2]

Tattooing.—1. With regard to the practice of tattooing,[3]—so general among the eight tribes[4] of Great Andaman, and which, as Peschel remarks, "is only another substitute for raiment"—it has been erroneously asserted that its object is to "harden the skin against the stings of mosquitoes, sandflies, &c., and also for jungle travelling;" but so far from any such benefit being derived therefrom the aborigines aver that the skin becomes more sensitive after undergoing the ordeal, which is considered, primarily, as ornamental, and secondly, as proving the courage of the individual, and his (or her) power of enduring pain.

2. There are no special ceremonies connected with the operation, which, except in the northern tribes, is almost invariably performed by women, who, however, receive no remuneration, but rest satisfied with the honour of being considered competent to fulfil the task; all the sex are not equally skilled, and therefore, those who have gained distinction by former successes are, it may be said, the recognised practitioners, though no special status, or profit, in a material sense, is gained thereby.

3. Very few children[5] of either sex are allowed to remain untattooed after about the eighth year, and the final operation is often not attempted until the sixteenth or eighteenth year, the process being carried on gradually during the intervening period.[6]

4. The instrument used on these occasions is a flake of quartz, or, now-a-days, glass,[7] which is not "inserted in a stick," but held between the forefinger and thumb; the markings are found chiefly on the back, shoulders, nape of the neck, chest,

[1] The *ō-bunga-* is first worn by girls when they are about five or six years of age.

[2] *Vide ante* "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

[3] The legend explaining its supposed origin has been given in Part II (*vide* "Mythology," paragraph 26).

[4] So far as our present knowledge enables us to say, the *jārawa-* do not tattoo or shave themselves (*vide* "Tribal Distribution," paragraph 2).

[5] Even in the homes the practice is still observed, and one strong-minded youth, *Ĭra-jō-do-*, who has hitherto declined to undergo the operation, which he has ventured to stigmatise as unnecessary, has earned for himself the (to them) unenviable designation of "*ab-lĕ-ta-*," *i.e.*, the "untattooed."

[6] The arms are generally the first part tattooed, and this is accomplished *prior* to the probationary period; the back is ornamented *during* the continuance of the fast and the chest, belly, legs, &c., *subsequently*. Sometimes an *ā-kà-kā-daka-*, *i.e.*, a youth about 11–12, requests that he may be tattooed on his back and on the nape of his neck before attaining the usual age; such a request from a lad is considered manly, and, indeed, almost heroic, for ordinarily the painful operation is postponed until some years later.

[7] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraphs 6 and 7.

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Plate C.

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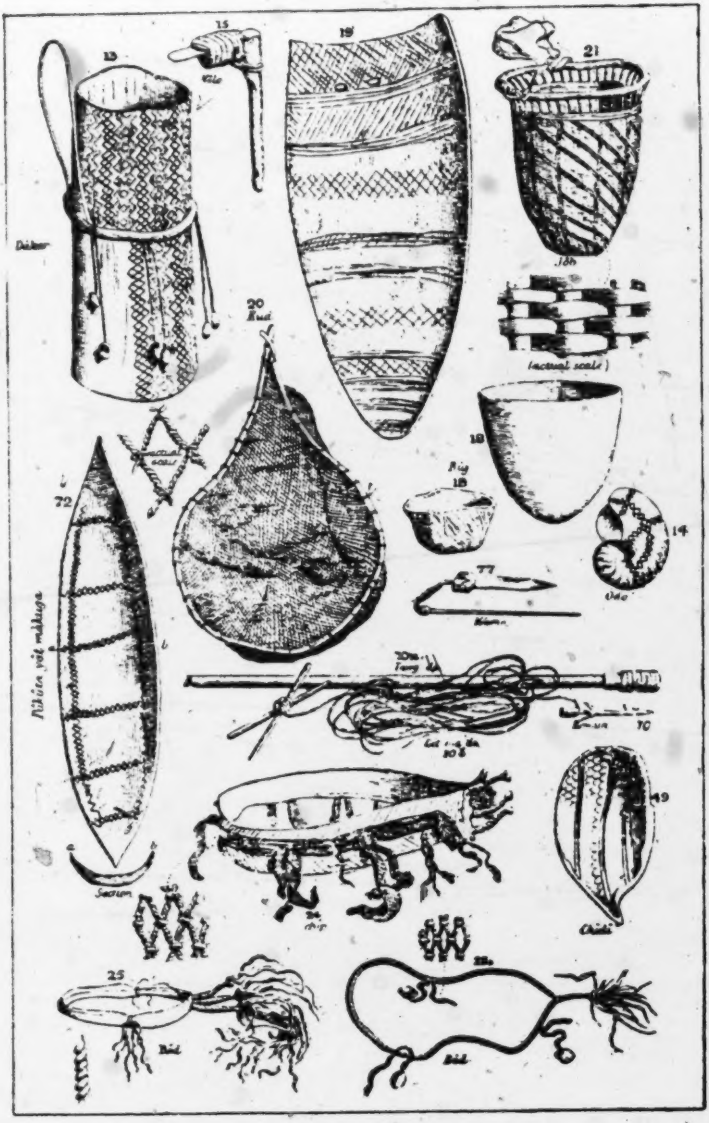

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS,

[facing p. 178]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*), which is worn like a sash over one shoulder by women, and sometimes by men, when carrying infants.[1]

The plain specimens are called *chīp-lū·pa-*.

Those ornamented with netting *chīp-râ·b-*.

Those ornamented with shells *chīp-yâ·mnga-*.

25. *bōd-*.[2] Waistbelt made from the leaves of the young screw-pine (*Pandanus Andamanensium*); the bunch of leaves or tail is worn at the back.

[Note.—These specimens are of the kind worn by women and girls of the eight Great Andaman tribes; the females of the *jār·awa-* tribes appear to go entirely nude.]

25*a*. *bōd-*.[3] Waistbelts of similar description, but having a less bushy tail, are worn more or less generally by men and youths of the eight Great Andaman tribes.

26. *rō·gun-*.[4] Belt made from the leaves of the young screw-pine, which is worn by adult married women only.

27. *tâ-chô·nga-*.[5] Garters, which are frequently worn by men and youths: they are made in the same way as the *bōd-* (item 25.)

28. *tô·go-chô·nga-*.[6] Bracelets, also worn by men and youths, much resembling the last-named object.

29. *gar·en-pē·ta-*.[7] Ornamental waistbelt of *Dentalium octogonum*, which is worn occasionally by both sexes.

30. *bē·ria-*[8] *jār·awa-* waistbelts, necklets, and armlets, which are believed to be worn by men and youths only.

31. *ij·i-gō·nga-*.[9] Head-dress of Pandanus-leaf, worn occasionally by young men and women.

The following ten articles are worn by both sexes as ornaments either round the neck or head:—

32. *ī·na-ô·la-tâ-*[10]	..	made of fresh water-shells.
33. *pē·r-tâ-* ..	..	„ cane or wood.
34. *yâ·dī-tâ-*[11]	..	„ turtle bones.
35. *bai·an-tâ-*	..	„ paradoxurus bones.
36. *dū·ku-tâ-*[12]	..	„ iguana bones.

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Social Relations, &c.," paragraph 10.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 27.
[3] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 27*a*.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 29.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 9.
[6] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 8.
[7] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 35.
[8] *Vide* Plate IX, figs. 13, 13*a*, and 13*b*.
[9] *Vide* Plate IX, figs. 6 and 6*a*.
[10] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 42.
[11] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 38.
[12] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 40.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate D.

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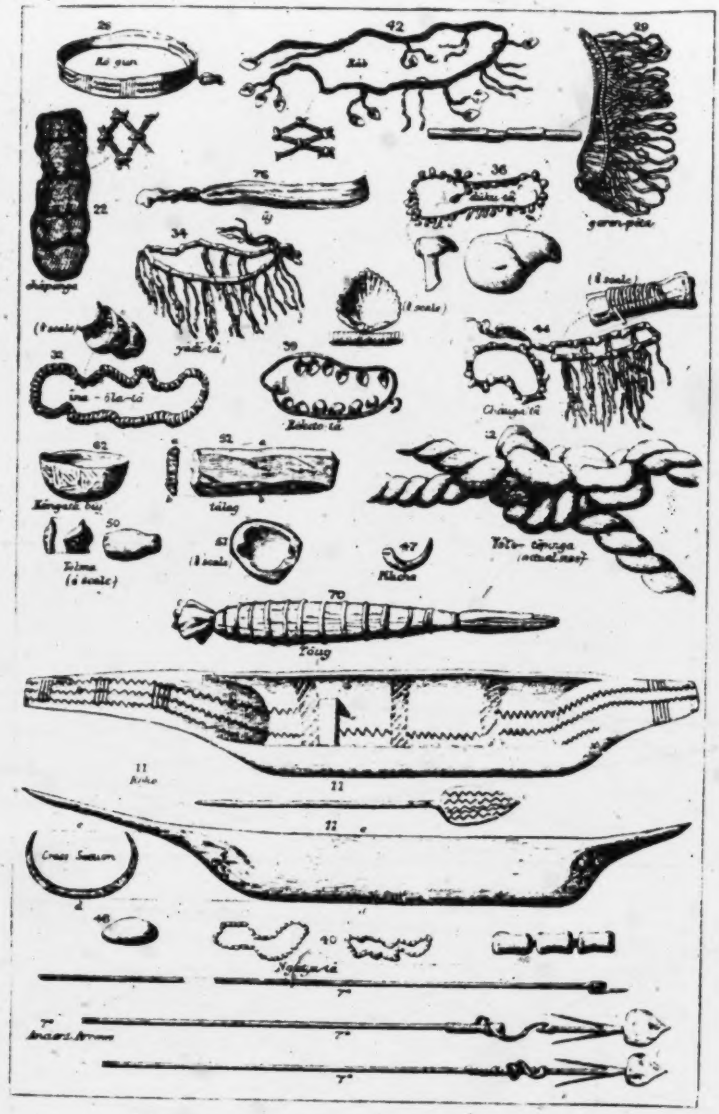

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 182]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate E.

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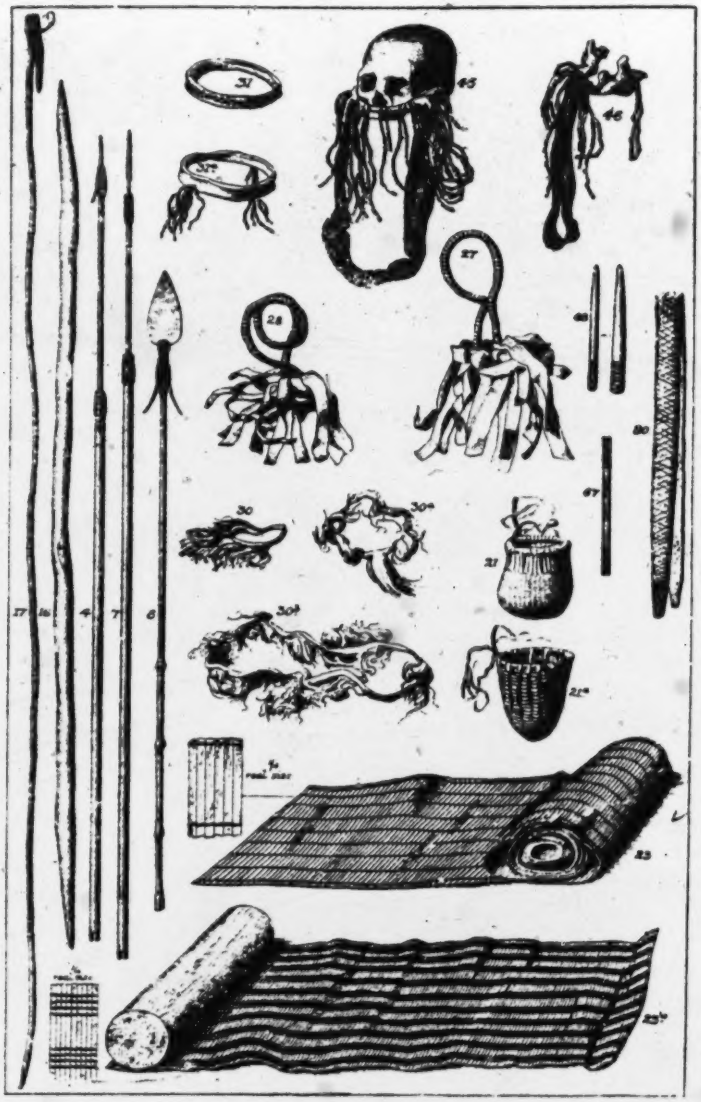

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS

[facing p. 186]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

373 dancing by night: the resin is obtained from a large tree called by them *maiī-*, which also is often employed in the construction of their largest canoes. A larger description of torch is made by men, and used when fishing by night.

71. *lâ·pi-*. Gurjon wood torch, obtained from the heart of rotten logs of the *Dipterocarpus lævis* (Andam., *â·rain-*): as these do not burn so readily as the *tō·ug-* (item 70) they are rarely used outside their huts.

415 72. *pū·kuta-yât-mâk·nga-*.[1] Food tray, made by men of some [462] soft wood, generally of the large flat buttress roots of the trees (*Sterculiaceæ*) of which their canoes are made.

764 73. *â·ra-*. Long fringe-like cane-leaf wreaths, which are made by women, and suspended from trees, &c., round an encamp- [462] ment or hut where a death has occurred, and round the spot where the corpse is deposited in order to warn off persons inadvertently approaching the place, which is believed to be haunted by the spirit of the deceased.[2]

285 74. *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*. Fan-like screen, made by women, of a description of palm-leaf (Andam., *kâ·pa-*), two of which are [462] fastened together with leaf stems: it is used for many purposes, amongst others as a protection from rain and from the direct rays of the sun in hot weather; in the absence of a *pār·epa-* (item 23) it is often used as a sleeping mat, and it serves also as a wrapper for bundles of various kinds.

75. *kâ·pa-*. Leaf wrappers, as described above, are employed for storing and packing the red oxide of iron.

293 76. *ūj-*.[3] Long brush-like shavings of the *Tetranthera lancæfolia*, prepared by men with the sharp edge of a *Cyrena* shell. When dancing these are often held (by both sexes) in their hands, or are stuck in their waistbelts or other personal ornaments.

412 77. *kō·no-*.[4] Iron knife used in cutting up food; to some a wooden or iron skewer is attached, they are then called *châm-chô-*.

78.[5]

●291 79. *ō·bunga-*. Species of apron, consisting of one to six leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* (Andam., *dō·gota-*), which are fastened to the lowest *bōd-* by women from motives of modesty;[6] the leaves are not spread out so as to cover a wide surface, but are laid one above the other, and removed separately as each becomes stiff and shrivelled: the reason given for the selection of this

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 16.
[2] *Vide* Part II. "Death and Burial," paragraph 3.
[3] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 37.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 21.
[5] This No. is attached to "Specimens of Andamanese Hair" (*vide* footnote 1, p. 175).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

291 particular leaf is that it keeps green and fresh for a longer time than any other.

[NOTE.—The women of the North Andaman tribes, until recent years, appear to have worn no *ô·bunga*, or only in a very modified form; the change which is now observable among them in this respect is doubtless to be traced to their intercourse with the people of South Andaman.]

412 [462] 80. *kai-*.[1] Bamboo tongs, made by women, and used for any purpose which would involve a risk of burning or scalding the fingers, such as lifting a pot or piece of cooked food off the fire.

415 81. *ko·pòt-*. Bucket made from a single joint of the *Bambusa gigantea*, pieces of which are sometimes found on the coast, having floated ashore from the neighbouring continent or from wrecks; they are much valued on account of their lightness and the labour saved in making a wooden bucket (*dâ·kar-*, item 13), which being, as before described, scooped out of a single piece of wood, is a laborious undertaking.

[NOTE.—The origin of the *dâ·kar-* is doubtless to be traced to the *ko·pòt-*.]

82. *gōb-*. Bamboo vessel, of which there are two varieties, viz., (*a*) for use as a water-holder: this is often 4 or 5 feet long, the partitions at the joints being broken through with a spear head or other suitable instrument, the lowest one only being left to form the bottom of the vessel; and (*b*) for use as a cooking pot and food-holder: its length consists of a single joint of bamboo, into which—after it has been cleaned, washed, and dried over a fire—food is packed and cooked; as will be seen by reference to Part III,[2] these vessels are only capable of serving on a single occasion; the handle is formed with a piece of *bē·tma-*.

83. *lâ-*. Cooking stones: the mode in which they are used is described in Part III.[3]

412 84. *kâ·ta-ngâ·tanga-* (*lit.*, crab-hook). An implement employed for picking up live crabs between rocks, in order to save the fingers from being nipped; it consists merely of a branch broken off the *Rhizophora conjugata*, which (unlike other trees) at once furnishes a strong hook suitable for the above purpose.

85. *â·ra-tig-jē·rabnga-*. Tufted leaf brushes, which are used for the same purpose as the *â·ra-* (item 73), and also by persons recently tattooed to drive away flies.

[A few other objects, omitted from this list, will be found described in Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vii, pp. 457–465.]

[1] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 11.
[2] *Vide* "Food," paragraph 31.
[3] *Vide* paragraph 27, and "Stone Implements," paragraph 2.

619 now passing away and I well recollect 25 years ago, though the Bojigyab were then known to us, the "coming in" of the first Balawa from the Archipelago and of the first Chariar from the extreme north and the difficulty experienced in communicating with them.

In reading the following remarks on the tribes it must always be borne in mind that the statements therein made refer largely to a state of things practically already passed away and never likely to be revived. The reader can without difficulty use his discretion in separating what is from what has been in the course of his perusal.

619 184 **Their Division into three Groups.**—The Andamanese tribes are by themselves divided into three distinct groups, having certain salient characteristics: the forms of the huts, bows and arrows, of the canoes, of ornamentation, female clothing, hair dressing, and utensils, of tattooing, and of language common generally to the group, but differing in details and sometimes entirely from those of other groups. Judged by this standard the tribal affinities may be thus stated: Northern or Yerewa Group, Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede; Southern or Bojigngiji Group, Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol; Outer Group, Onge-Jarawa, who do not tattoo. Some of the tribes are divided into septs, fairly well defined under headmen and with a local area of their own, but not under any separate designation.

The Distinctions between the Groups.—It is worth while bringing together this remarkable series of differences dividing the Andamanese into three divisions; differences that more or less run through all matters concerning them.

[304] (1) *Tattooing.*—Bojigngiji; women are the tattooers cutting the skin slightly with small flakes of quartz or glass in patterns of zigzags or in straight vertical lines; face, ears, genitals, arm and knee pits are excepted. Men and women are tattooed alike. Yerewa; men are the tattooers, cutting the skin deeply with iron pig-arrow heads: short horizontal parallel cuts in three or five lines down the back and front of the trunk, round the anus and legs. Women are tattooed thus as life advances. Onge-Jarawa; no tattooing.

[302] (2) *Hair.*—Bojigngiji; partial to complete shaving of head. Yerewa; long matted ringlets touching the shoulders. Onge-Jarawas; closely cropped head to a mop. Onge-Jarawa women are not shaved.

[291] (3) *Ornaments and female clothing.*—Bojigngiji women wear a bunch of five or six leaves in front: Yerewa women a loose tassel of narrow strips of bark: Onge-Jarawa a bunching tassel of fibre. Bojigngiji women are most particular as to clothing: Yerewa women careless. Jarawa women are apt to be quite unclothed. Bojigngijis and Yerewas smear their faces with grey clay mixed with water, white clay in delicate patterns imitating the tattoo marks, red ochre mixed with turtle fat and almond oil in coarse undefined patterns. Onge-Jarawas, with yellow clay mixed with water in coarse patches, red ochre mixed with the above mentioned oils on the head. Onge-Jarawas wear no bone ornaments.

[302]

[531] (4) *Ornamentation of utensils.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewas, slight: Onge-Jarawas delicate and elaborate.

[323] (5) *Pots.*—Bojigngijis, pots with rounded bottom: Onge-Jarawas and Yerewas with pointed bottom.

[412] (6) *Implements.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas, coarse and rough in manufacture: Onge-Jarawas, often delicate and neat.

[285] (7) *Baskets.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have a 'kick' and stand well: Onge-Jarawas have uneven bottom and stand badly.

[411] (8) *Bows and arrows.*—Bojigngiji, *karama* bow and large arrows. Yerewa, *chokio* bow and small arrows. Onge-Jarawa, curved long bow and long arrows.

(9) *Arrows.*—Generally common in type to all tribes: long with plain straight point, long with straight point and barbs, short with broad detachable barbed head for pigs.* Onge-Jarawas and Yerewas, multiple headed arrows for fish.

(10) *Harpoons.*—For turtle, dugongs, and large fish among Bojigngijis and Yerewas: none among the Onge-Jarawas.

* As the pig runs off, the trailing shaft is at once caught by something in the jungle and the animal is thus brought up short.

145 to about 60 to 65, if he reaches "old age." Except as to marriage at an earlier age, about 18, these figures apply fairly to the women also, who, however, 582 live somewhat longer than the men, retaining in old age both health and mental faculties.

163 **Reproduction.**—The marriages are infructuous, though barrenness is [853] uncommon, a couple rarely producing families of even moderate size and many none at all. The child-bearing age is from 16 to 35; weaning is much delayed.

●291 **Endurance.**—Left to themselves the Andamanese go stark naked and 147 with head uncovered, except that the women wear, as clothing and not ornament, one or more leaves in front and a bunch of leaves tied round the waist behind, or a tassel of leaves all round. Jarawas, however, of both sexes have been seen entirely naked. They dislike and fear cold, but not heat, though they avoid exposure to the sun; and being accustomed to gratify every sensation as it arises, they endure thirst, hunger, want of sleep, fatigue and bodily discomfort badly. Want of sleep, such as occurs at their dances for occasionally as much as [482] four days and nights, exhausts them greatly. A man's load is 40 lbs. and his distance 15 miles for a day or two only. After that he will rest, whatever the urgency.

252 **Food.**—The food consists of fish, pork, turtle, iguana, "wild cat" (*para-*
262 *doxurus sp.*), shell-fish, turtle eggs, certain larvæ, and a great variety of fruit, seeds, roots, and honey, and is plentiful both by sea and land. They never starve, though they are habitually heavy eaters. The food is always cooked and commonly eaten very hot. As much as possible of an animal is eaten and the Andamanese, like most hunters, have found out the dietary value of tripe. The Andamanese are expert cooks and adept at preparing delicacies from parts of animals and fish.

142 **Skin.**—The skin, which is smooth, greasy and satiny, varies in colour from an intense sheeny black to a reddish brown on the unexposed parts and also on the collar bones, cheeks and other prominences of the body. Its general appearance has been likened to a "black-leaded stove." The scalp, the lips and nostrils are black, and there are black patches on the palate. The soles of the feet are brownish yellow. The Bojigngiji Group (South Andaman) are the darkest, and among the Onges parts of the face are a light reddish-brown. The Jarawas are distinctly fairer than the rest, the general colour being a deep reddish brown. Leucoderma occurs on the fingers and lips.

Hair.—The hair varies from a sooty black to dark and light brown, yellowish brown and red. The general appearance of it is sooty black or yellowish brown. Except on the head the hair is scanty, but not absent: on the head it grows in small rings, which give it the appearance of growing in tufts, though it is really closely and evenly distributed over the whole scalp. Limited baldness is un-
[302] known, but temporary general baldness after disease occurs with a weak growth of the hair afterwards. The hair is not shaved, except on the head and eye-
[145] brows, and each tribe has, with many fantastic individual variants, its own method of wearing it. It turns grey at about 40, but white hair is not common.

Shaving is "woman's work" and was performed by small flakes of quartz, but nowadays flakes from the kicks of glass bottles are substituted. It is effective and close, but a painful operation on an European's face, as I proved by personal experience many years ago.

Bodily Parts.—The mouth is large, the palate hard and highly arched, the lips well formed. The hands and feet are small and well made. The ears are small and well shaped, the eyes are generally dark to a very dark brown, bright, liquid and clear, but prominent with slightly elevated outer angles and become dulled with age. The teeth, in the young, except amongst the Onges, are white, good and on the whole free from disease. Those of the Onges are irregular and discoloured. As age advances the teeth generally lose their whiteness and become worn, but without much caries. The teeth are roughly used without any care whatever. Dentition is early.

164 **Diseases.**—The muscular strength of the Andamanese is great, but their vitality is nevertheless low, and the apparently robust quickly die after sickening

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
[P.4(A)]

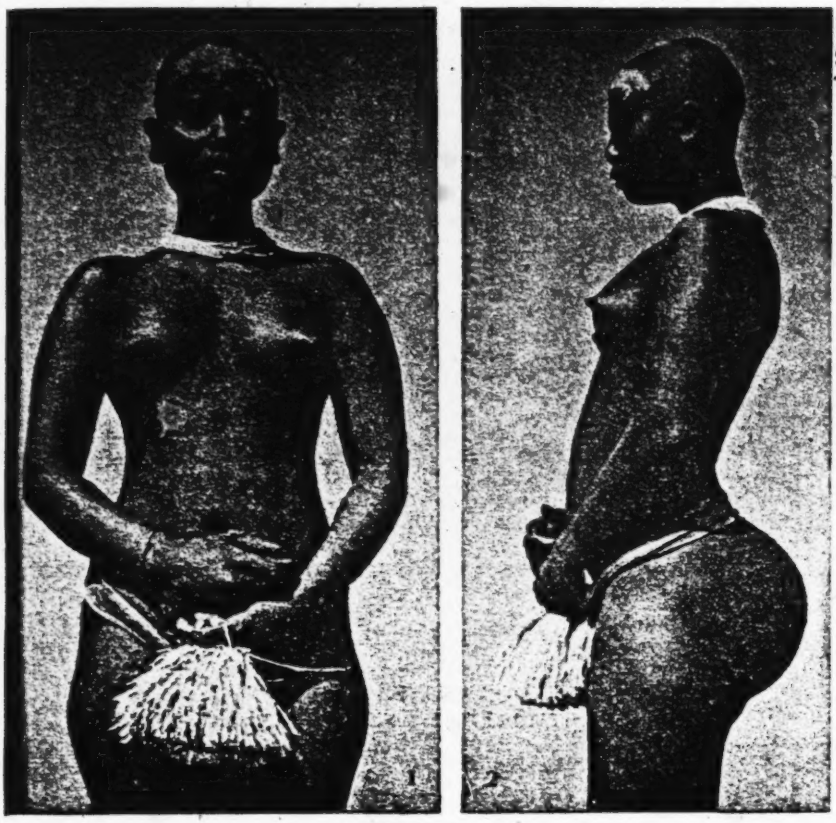

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PLATE II.

Figs. 1 & 2—Onge female of the hut No. 2, Plate 1, in Little Andaman Island (front and profile).

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P 4(B)]

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PLATE III.

Onge females living in hut No. 2, Plate 1.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P.4(C)]

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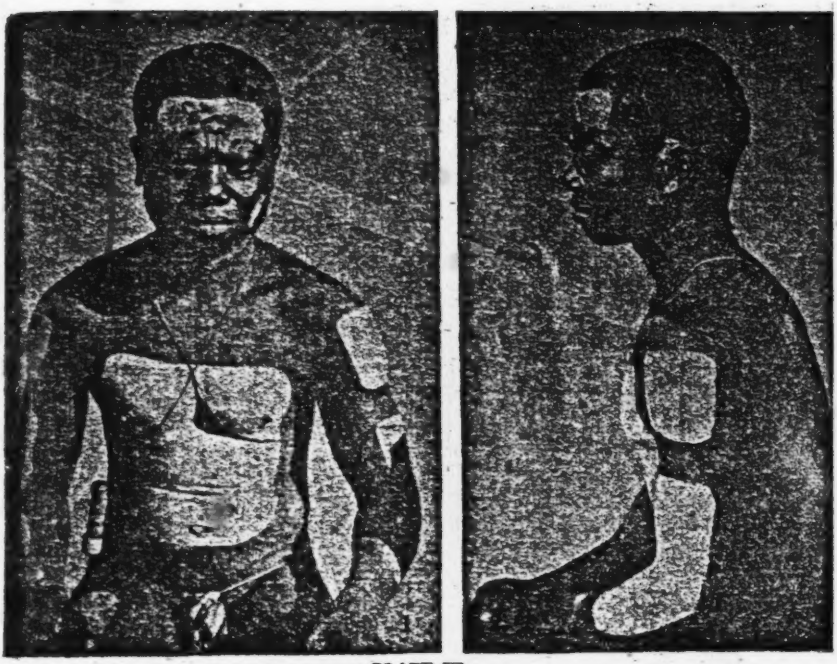

PLATE IV.

Figs. 1 & 2—Onge male (Raja) decorated with paints on board the "Molly" in Little Andaman waters.

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Plate IX. Captive Jarawa Children.
[P. 26(A)]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

now follow them, often ignoring their original significance and symbolism. Among the Onge, spirits are feared but not loved ; the same applies to God Himself.

The Onge bury their dead in trenches, no deeper than three feet. Earth is tightly packed over the graves in order to prevent exhalations. Full details on the subject of Onge burial customs appear in the book that I am writing about the Onge. I slept with the Onge in communal huts that contained fresh graves, without suffering any inconvenience from the smell of the corpses. This recalls the palaeolithic sepulchral caves, where man probably lived as the Onge live in their sepulchral huts today.

There are no latrines near Onge camps – whether permanent or temporary. Excrements are spread carelessly all around, lightly covered with leaves and earth. Flies lay eggs on them. The Onge's only precaution is not to defecate where drinking water might be found after rainfall. With so many opportunities for reproduction, in some places flies form such clouds as to impress the natives themselves. In the north of Little Andaman a creek was named after the flies : Bumila Creek, which means "fly creek". Smells also occasionally inspire geographical names : Tambe-é-bûie, on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, means "the smelly place" in the Onge language. Flies, fleas and ticks are tolerated by the Onge who do not fight them. Fortunately, the hymenoptera collect flies for their nests, not, however, in quantities large enough to compete with the fertility of the species.

2. Clothing and personal care

The only garment worn by Little Andaman women is the *naquinēghē*, a scanty grasslike apron covering the genitals. In addition, during menstrual periods, Onge women wear the *bataghē*, for hygienic purposes. This is a simple cluster of long, soft green leaves cut by the husband for his wife from special trees : Myristica longifolia and others. The only leaves used are those from the end of a stalk, a section of which is left attached to the leaves. The stalk is slipped under the *naquinēghē*, while the long leaves are passed between the thighs to be fastened at the back above the buttocks. It is curious to see Onge women in such myristical attire ! The *bataghē* is ethnographical news, new not only as regards the Andamans : it is an interesting indication of the hygienic measures employed by primitive people, and can probably be traced to prehistoric practices in analogous circumstances. The continental and insular regions nearest to the Andamans have retained no similar custom ; their only practice is the strict isolation of menstruating women. Among the Onge, on the other hand, they are allowed free circulation. Washing is unknown to the Onge : they never wash their bodies intentionally. Brushing through the thick forest and diving into the sea or the river to collect food substitute adequately for washing. The Little Andaman forest is nearly always dripping ; moving among the trees, specially in the early morning, is equivalent to bathing. The contact of wet leaves when walking cleans the Onge's skin, for they go naked ; and as they constantly dive into the sea and rivers, they do not smell. Actually they give an impression of cleanliness – as opposed to many other dark-skinned

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

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a) Onge communal hut.
b) Painted Onge woman drinking from a nautilus shell.
c) Woman with *bataghé* leaves.
d) Filter going from mouth to mouth.

[p. 488 (A)]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

LIDIO CIPRIANI, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate 2

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a) and *c*) Women and girls wearing *ibidanghē*.
b) Bandages of ficus bark against fever.
d) Wife and husband in their usual attire.

[p. 488 (B)]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

Endogamous life, or the habit of never washing even the female genital organs, cannot be the only cause of Andamanese sterility. Alcohol and venereal diseases such as syphilis may only be a complementary cause. The Onge's limited fertility probably derives from other factors besides their protracted and inceasingly strict endogamy.

We can only remark that Onge women rarely become pregnant before 28 ; their fertility ceases around the age of 48. The high rate of sterility among Onge women after marriage (which generally takes place at the age of 14) is puzzling indeed. Of several childless couples that I studied in Little Andaman, the woman was under 28. There is hope of fertility after that age. It could so happen, for instance, in the case of two young Onge chiefs, Okkeggi and Chendubai, married to two sisters among the most beautiful and flourishing girls on the island : Ooaghēghē and Tocooaghēghē, both around 20. They never became pregnant, although menstruation was normal and they had plenty of sexual intercourse, even extra-marital.

The delayed appearance of fertility in Andamanese women is probably connected with a general biological condition fostered by unhygienic habits. For instance : young Onge females have a high vagina acidity content that is certainly harmful to spermatozoa. It decreases with age, facilitating, we may suppose, fecundation. Vaginal washing would help, but the Onge women never recur to it. But this is only one side of the question. It is evidently urgent to do whatever is necessary to save the Onge from extinction. We must remember that civilized nations, through international agreements, are anxious to protect plant and animal species from disappearance. The same should be done for man, and equivalent international laws are needed. The Onge as a human group are on the verge of extinction ; but they still retain enough vitality to be rescued before they finally vanish into eternity.

Without enlarging here on the disorders of Onge sexual life and their dire effects also on the number of births, I wish to point out one more fact : Onge homosexuality as a normal occurrence. It is a plague in Little Andaman, helped by the regular physiological functions of both extremities of the digestive tube. The sexual tendencies that prevail in Little Andaman are a strong criticism of FREUD's theories on sexual life, but I will not discuss this here. I would rather say a few words about some opinions regarding the cause of Onge sterility that I heard expressed in the Andamans. Foreigners there ascribe it to the *naquinēghē* – the grass-like apron worn by women. Colonists believe that this garment leads to copulation from the rear, reducing the chances of fecundation. This idea is incorrect : the Onge never do this because the *naquinēghē* can be easily lifted as required, and pulled up over the abdomen. It is true that Onge women remove the *naquinēghē* only to replace it with a fresh one ; they wear it even when sleeping. Not for a single instant must women remain "undressed", for superstitious reasons. When a new *naquinēghē* is needed, the old one is furtively disposed of. Husband and wife repair secretely to a remote part of the forest, the woman slipping the new garment over her head before removing the old one, and burying the latter, which is quickly destroyed by white ants. The Onge believe that possession by a stranger of a worn

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

291 754 *naquinẽghẽ* exposes the former owner to harm. Ill-disposed persons could use it for black magic practices. I collected specimens of this garment, all of them, however, brand-new – for the above-mentioned reason. To avoid trouble to the owner, nobody is allowed to touch the *naquinẽghẽ*, which is worn in front of the vulva. To touch it is a deadly offence. Aside from the *naquinẽghẽ*, Andaman 842 263 colonists attribute the natives' sterility to their abhorrence of salt. Another opinion would have it that the lack of salt transforms human saliva into poison: the Jarawas, by spitting on their arrows render them poisonous. The absurdity of this belief is so evident that it requires no confutation. The Onge refuse to eat salt because they consider it unhealthy, or, to say the least, disgusting.

III. Illnesses and Onge Curative Methods

164 Few illnesses affect the Onge, but they succumb to those few with surprising speed. Often they become seriously ill for mysterious reasons and in spite of their robust appearance. Smallpox, tuberculosis and poliomyelitis are unknown in Little Andaman, although they sometimes strike in the nearby Nicobars. Measles broke out on the island on more than one occasion, killing off all the inhabitants of several communal huts, which I later found deserted and in ruins. With regard to syphilis, the Indian Census of 1931 quotes an old remark of PORTMAN's concerning a few individuals considered by him as infected. This was later denied.

[752] [123] Onge women are more resistant to illness than men. Wounds heal promptly in both sexes, without the aid of remedies. A few of the older men, however, had suppurating sores on their legs, slow to disappear even when disinfected and treated by me with European medicines. No similar sores were found on women. On the other hand, women suffer more than men from ringworm, mainly in the umbilical region. Nothing is done to rid them of it because the discomfort is slight. I suggested an Indian cure made with the leaves of the neem tree, or Melia azedarach, very common in Southern Asia [123] where it is considered sacred. I imported the plant to Little Andaman, but the Onge displayed no interest in it. I found a single instance of leucoderma, in a woman with whitish spots on her hands and lips. I could get no reliable information about the incidence of cancer, but it appears to be rare on the island. No baldness is to be seen in Little Andaman, and I found few traces of [142] greying hair, as the Onge die young. A transversal bregmatic furrow is noticeable [482] in all individuals, male and female, as a consequence of carrying loads hung from their heads by a strip of bark. The Onge start doing this in childhood. An artificial, unintentional deformation of the skull is the result of that uncomfortable habit.

751 302 [386] For hygienic reasons the Little Andaman aborigines paint their bodies with refined clay and ochre of various shades, mainly reddish. This gives the women occasion to embellish the bodies of their husbands with an endless variety of geometrical designs. Every year I found changes in their patterns, and I

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge
Andamanese

A group of Onges

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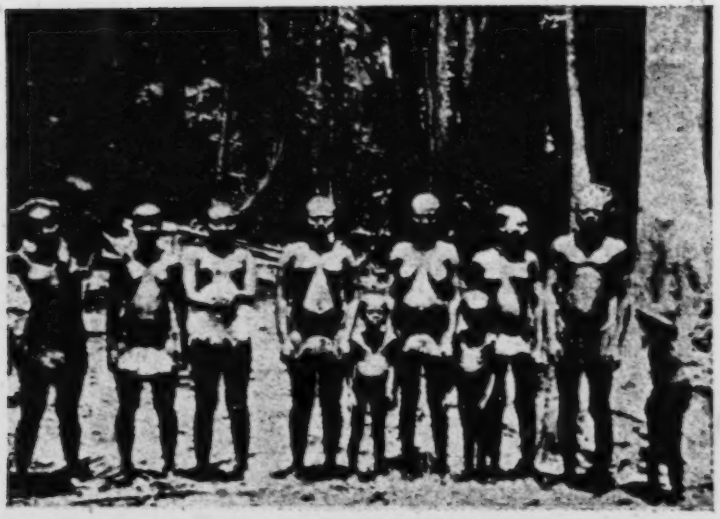

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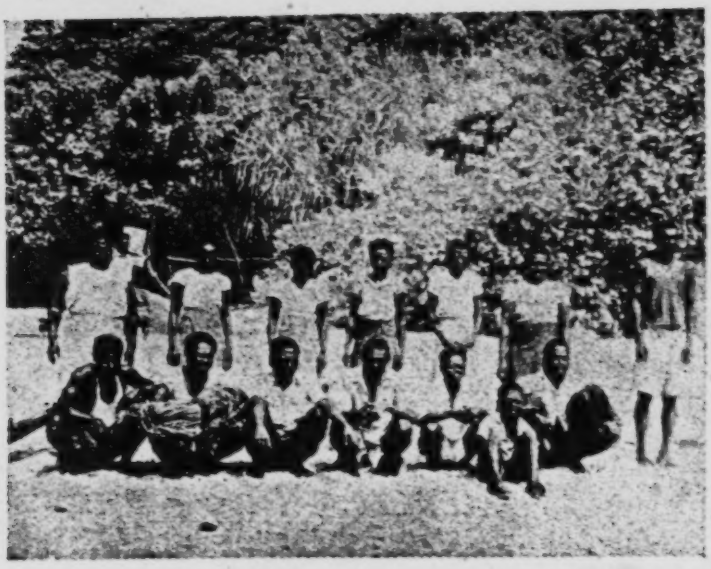

A group of Andamanese (Courtesy A. S. L)

[facing P. 54]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

CHAPTER IX
ABORIGINAL POPULATION

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Communal dinner of the Onges (Courtesy A. S. I.)

[facing P. 62]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

men naturally predisposed to the abnormality is enhanced by the fact that the youngest and most attractive women are invariably monopolized by the older men. So prevalent, indeed, is homosexuality that one is obliged to regard it as a biological, and not as a social or psychological abnormality. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that kissing is unknown; sexual excitement is aroused instead by nose-rubbing.

None of the Onges have any sense of modesty. This is partly the result of circumstances; privacy is impossible in the communal life of the group. This is in marked contrast to the comical dignity assumed during the last few years by the remaining Arioto women. The government authorities decreed that they should be clothed, and they immediately became so prudish that they refuse to bare so much as an arm, and they thus present a considerable problem to the anthropologist. Their menfolk, however, are clearly delighted with this sudden modesty which was to me a somewhat pathetic parody, and a further example of Andamanese childish-[1]

[1] [The remainder of this sentence has been left incomplete in the original text.--Analyst]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Near my camp at Labanar, in March 1952, I witnessed a distressing and fatal case. A young woman, with a baby a month old, had suckled another child, as the Onge women do. The older infant, which had cut its teeth, caused damage to the nipples and the ensuing infection spread throughout the body. The wretched woman was writhing with fever and the pain from her infected breasts and suppressed lactation. Her body had been smeared with a vermilion ochre, held to be the most powerful balm, and tightly bound, as usual. Her condition was so poor that I suggested sending her at once to Port Blair for treatment. Unfortunately, however, at that time I was only just beginning to establish contact with the Onges, and the woman's husband, after all the arrangements had been made, refused to let her go. I had not yet gained the Onges' confidence enough to be allowed near the woman, and although I was able to photograph her I could do nothing to prevent her death.

The decision to administer 'medicine' and subject patients to various treatments is not the province of any specialists, but is taken by anyone in the group; all, including the patient, accept the decision, since all are utterly convinced that it will benefit them. Medicine men and sorcerers, so numerous in Africa and elsewhere, do not exist among the Andamanese.

The Onges have not the slightest idea of any standards of hygiene. They never wash intentionally; the forest, dripping from every leaf, and frequent immersion in water while out hunting, take care of the problem. One must admit that in the circumstances their nakedness is hygienic. A small fire is kept burning beside each bed at night for warmth, a useful precaution which I found very welcome on the many cold nights which followed a very hot day. Deprived of these fires the Onges fall ill at once, a fact of which I had ample proof on several occasions when I took Onges with me out of Little Andaman; they were provided with beds and coverings in well-constructed wooden houses, but although none of them complained about the absence of the fires by their beds they all developed feverish chills.

And yet in their own territory I have seen them lie soaking wet all night in one of their temporary forest camps or a communal hut with a leaking roof without any ill effects, simply because they had

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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1 The author with two adult islanders

[facing P. 66, A]

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[facing P. 66, B]

/2 ... Two examples of the geometric patterns which are painted on the face and torso/

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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5 *Above* Mother feeding her baby from a Nautilus shell
6 *Right* The axe is one of the few primitive tools in use in the Andamans

[facing P. 66, D]

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[facing P. 66, E]

/6 ... The axe is one of the few primitive tools in use in the Andamans/

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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[facing P. 66, I]

/13 Mother and child/

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18 A family group with, on the right, the cylindrical cooking-pot, and the inevitable dogs

19 Typical shell collection from a kitchen-midden

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[facing P. 67]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen among the Jarawas, with the characteristic marking of the rhythm by slapping the calves against the buttocks. This does not seem to have been a feature of the Arioto dances, in which the rhythm was by the *pukuta yemnga*, a kind of convex shield made of the very hard and aromatic red wood (*Pterocarpus dalbergoides*) which the termites never seem to attack. I was able to obtain one of these shields, the last that the twenty-three surviving Arioto possessed and the only musical instrument in the islands. It is played by one man with his feet, while the dancers, male and female, form lines on each side of him a short distance away. Before use the convex face is decorated with lines of white ochre and chains of tusk shells are hung from a hole at the end opposite to the one on which the player's feet beat; from the same hole runs a cord, which he holds in his hand to prevent the instrument moving away from him as he beats. The players change from time to time as the dancers shuffle on and on for hours in the light of the resin torches. But apart from the instrument itself, the rhythmic hand-clapping and the dancers singing in unison are the same throughout the Andamans.

The women clap their hands in rhythm, and then slap one thigh with the open palm of one hand, the other hand clasping the wrist, singing all the time. The men dance in Indian file, beating the ground first with the right heel, then with the left, the toes barely raised from the ground, moving a short way forward each time. As they dance they lean forward, then with hands clasped and their fingers interlaced. There are variations, but the basic step is always the same.

One difference between the Onges and the Jarawas is that in the latter both sexes are naked, while the Onge women have in recent times adopted the *naquineghe* or apron. Complete nudity was a characteristic of all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà, and the Jarawa migrations probably took place before the introduction of the *naquineghe*.

The present inability of the three peoples to understand each other is more a question of pronunciation than of difference in actual words. To examine the question fully it would be necessary to collect a large number of words and analyse their affinity; meanwhile we know that despite their inability to understand each other there is a close resemblance between the language of the Jarawas and Sentinellese and that of the Onges. Strict isolation can lead to

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

kitchen-middens to have been contemporaneous with the introduction of the pig, i.e. to have been introduced by outsiders. It would be possible, using radio carbon methods, to calculate this date more accurately, but on purely archaeological evidence the introduction of pottery would appear to have occurred some five thousand years ago.

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8 ABSENCE OF CANNIBALISM

If we may accept the evidence of the kitchen-middens, there has never at any time been cannibalism in the Andamans, although the practice certainly existed in the later Palaeolithic era; the Andamanese must thus have been isolated in the archipelago long before the practice became widespread.

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9 DRINK

The Andamanese ignorance of any drink other than water may be regarded as additional evidence of the great antiquity of their culture.

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10 ABSENCE OF CLOTHING

The Jarawas of both sexes have always remained completely naked. The Onges have only in comparatively recent times adopted a form of genital covering for their womenfolk; this custom has spread as far as the north of Great Andaman, and it seems probable that the separation of the Jarawas from the Onges dates from this time.

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11 ABSENCE OF TATTOOING

All primitive peoples who are habitually completely naked adorn the body in some way. The Onges have never progressed beyond the early stage of painting themselves with ochre, and do not tattoo. Their sole ornaments are small necklaces of tusk shells, strips of bark, and sometimes flowers. In all this they resemble the Tasmans (see, however, p. 143 for certain important differences), who seem to have remained in an equally early stage of cultural development.

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12 TOTEMISM AND THE CLAN

Here again the complete absence of any traces appears to indicate isolation before the spread of these very ancient concepts. Neither the Onges nor the Jarawas have ever progressed beyond the stage of independent groups of families.

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18: Kleiweg de Zwaan E-5 (1906-1910) 1925 OB1 Indonesia
Andamans AZ2

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Fig. 12. Mincopie Woman of the Andamans

Photo A. R. Brown.